

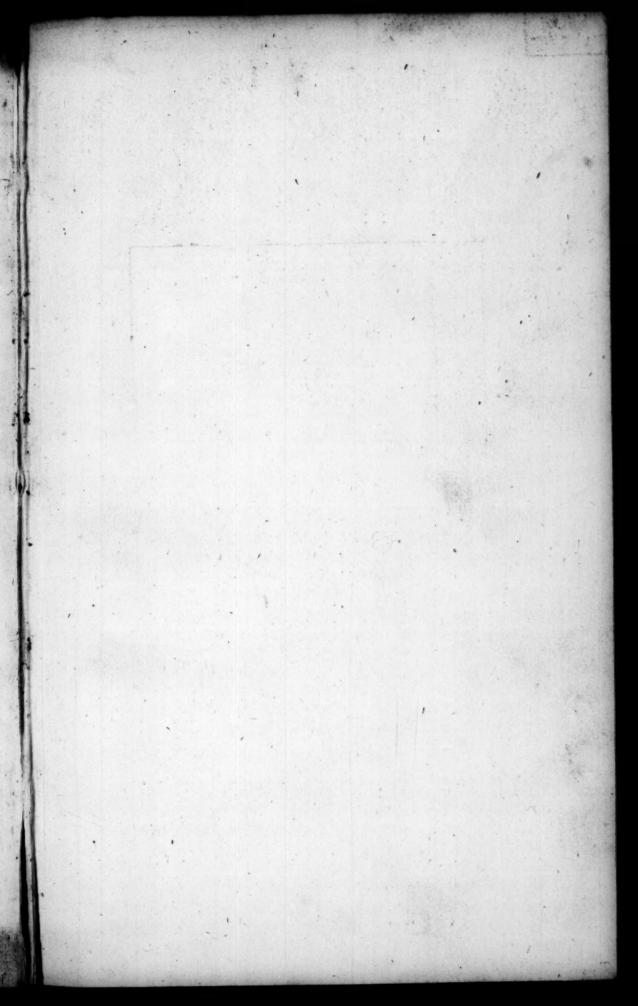


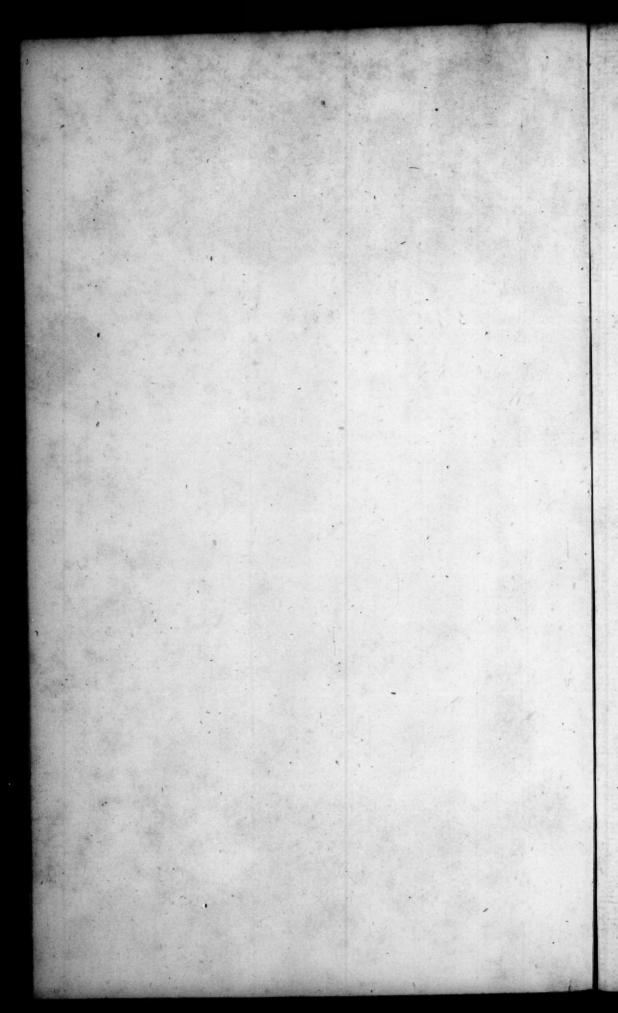
Thomas Longueville.





Thomas Longueville.





THE

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA.

VOL. III.



HISTORY

OF

AMERALOA.

v p in m.

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA.

By WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D. D.

PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,
AND HISTORIOGRAPHER TO HIS MAJESTY FOR SCOTLAND.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

DUBLIN:

Printed for Mess. Price, Whitestone, W. Watson, Corcoran,
R. Cross, Sleater, Sheppard, Chamberlaine, Potts,
J. Hoey, Fitzsimons, Williams, E. Lynch, S. Watson,
W. Colles, W. Wilson, Moncrieffe, Walker,
Exshaw, M. Hay, Armitage, Porter, Hallhead, T. Stewart, Flin, Faulkner, Burnet, Jenkin, Mills, Beatty, Spotswood,
Gilbert, Vallance, P. Wilson, R.
Stewart, P. Hoey, Wogan, E. Cross,
Macelrath, Higley, White,
Kidd, Grueber, Hillary,
M'Kenly, and Magee.
M, Dcc, Lxxvii.

HISTORY



Dy WILLIAM BOSEN LOND, D.D.

MA

PRINCIPAL OF THE RESTER OF TRUMPURCH,

VOLUME THE THEE.

tu la co o c

194-1

HEINGRYSOF IMERICA

HISTORY

to small old the Spanished Balle given the same of

ies to the Eaft of Prayma, but ambier th

woods, thinks inhabited and entremely unlesd-

thy, they returned with diffical accounts concerning the difficults to which shoy had been expended,

AMERICA.

became the general opinion, that Balbon had founded vincuary hopes, on the rate of an arms.

BOOK VI.

FROM the time that Nugnez de Balboa disco-BOOK vered the great Southern Ocean, and received the first obscure hint concerning the opulent countries with which it might open a communication, the schemes for wishes and schemes of every enterprising person in discovering the colonies of Darien and Panama were turned towards the wealth of those unknown regions. In an age when the spirit of adventure was so arduous and vigorous, that large fortunes were wasted, and the most alarming dangers braved, in pursuit of discoveries merely possible, the faintest ray of hope was followed with eager expectation, and the slightest information was sufficient to inspire such perfect considence, as conducted men to the most arduous undertakings.

Vol. III.

B

ACCORDINGLY,

See Note I.

VI.

1523

for fome time.

BOOK ACCORDINGLY, Teveral armaments were fitted out in order to explore and take possession of the countries to the east of Panama, but under the Unfuccessful conduct of leaders whose talents and resources were unequal to the attempt b. As their excursions did not extend beyond the limits of the province to which the Spaniards have given the name of Tierra Firmè, a mountainous region covered with woods, thinly inhabited, and extremely unhealthy, they returned with difmal accounts concerning the distresses to which they had been exposed, and the unpromising aspect of the places which they had visited. Damped by these tidings, the rage for discovery in that direction abated; and it became the general opinion, that Balboa had founded visionary hopes, on the tale of an ignorant Indian, ill understood, or calculated to deceive.

Undertaken by Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque.

Bur there were three persons settled in Panama. on whom the circumstances which deterred others made to little impression, that, at the very moment when all confidered Balboa's expectations of discovering a rich country, by fleering towards the east, as chimerical, they relolved to attempt the execu-The names of those extraortion of his scheme. dinary men were Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luque. Pizarro was the natural fon of a gentleman of an honourable family by a very low woman, and, according to the cruel fate which often attends the offspring of unlawful love, had been to totally neglected in his youth by the author of his birth, that he feems to have destined him never to rife beyond the conditi-In confequence of this ungeneon of his mother. rous idea, he fet him, when bordering on manhood,

Accordingly

VI.

1524.

to keep hogs. But the afpiring mind of young Pizar-B O O K ro disdaining that ignoble occupation, he abruptly abandoned his charge, enlifted as a foldier, and after ferving fome years in Italy, embarked for America, which by opening fuch a boundless range to active talents, allured every adventurer whose fortune was not equal to his ambitious thoughts. There, Pizarro early diffinguished himself. With a temper of mind no less daring than the constitution of his body was robust, he was foremost in every danger, patient under the greatest hardships, and unsubdued by any fatigue. Though so illiterate that he could not even read, he was foon confidered as a man formed to command. Every operation committed to his conduct proved fuccessful, as, by a happy but rare conjunction, he united perfeverance with ardour, and was as cautious in executing, as he was bold in forming his plans. By engaging early in active life, without any resource but his own talents and industry, and by depending on himself alone in his struggles to emerge from obscurity, he acquired such a thorough knowledge of affairs, and of men, that he was fitted to assume a superior part in conducting the one, and in governing the other c.

ALMAGRO had as little to boast of his descent The one was a baftard, the other a foundling. Bred like his companion, in the camp, he yielded not to him in any of the foldierly qualities of intrepid valour, indefatigable activity, or infurmountable constancy in enduring the hardships inseparable from military service in the But in Almagro these virtues were New World. accompanied with the openness, generolity,

c Herrera, dec. 1 & 2, passim. dec. 4. lib. vi. c. 107. Gomara Hift. c. 144. Zarate, lib. iv. c. 9.

HISTORY OF AMERICA.

BOOK and candour natural to men whose profession is arms; in Pizarro, they were united with the address, the craft, and the dissimulation of a politician, with the art of concealing his own purposes, and with sagacity to penetrate into those of other

HERNANDO DE LUQUE was an ecclesiastic, who acted both as priest and schoolmaster at Panama, and, by means which the contemporary writers have not described, had amassed riches that inspired him with thoughts of rising to greater eminence.

Terms of their affociation.

Such were the men destined to overturn one of the most extensive empires on the face of the earth. Their confederacy for this purpose was authorised by Pedrarias, the governor of Panama. Each engaged to employ his whole fortune in the adventure. Pizarro, the least wealthy of the three, as he could not throw fo large a fum as his affociates into the common flock, engaged to take the department of greatest fatigue and danger, and to command in person the armament which was to go first upon discovery. Almagro offered to conduct the supplies of provisions and reinforcements of troops, of which Pizarro might stand in need. Luque was to remain at Panama to negociate with the governor, and superintend whatever was carrying on for the general interest. As the spirit of enthusiasm uniformly accompanied that of adventure in the New World, and by that strange union both acquired an increase of force, this confederacy, formed by ambition and avarice, was confirmed by the most solemn act of religion. Luque celebrated mass, divided a confecrated host into three, and reserving one part to himself, gave the other two to his affociates, of which they partook; and thus, in name of the Prince Prince of Peace, ratified a contract of which plun-BOOK der and bloodshed were the objects d.

THE attempt was begun with a force more fuit- 1524. ed to the humble condition of the three adventur- Their first ers, than to the greatness of the enterprise in which attempt, they were engaged. Pizarro set fail from Panama Nov. 14. with a fingle veffel, of small burden, and an hundred and twelve men. But in that age, so little were the Spaniards acquainted with the peculiarities of climate in America, that the time which Pizarro chose for his departure was the most improper in the whole year; the periodical winds, which were then fet in, being directly adverse to the course which he purposed to steer. After beating about for feventy days, with much danger and inceffant fatigue. Pizarro's progress towards the south-east 1525. was not greater than what a skilful navigator will now make in as many hours. He touched at feveral places on the coast of Tierra Firmè, but found every where the fame uninviting country which former adventurers had described; the low grounds converted into fwamps by the overflowing of rivers; the higher covered with impervious woods; few inhabitants and those fierce and hostile. Famine, fatigue, frequent rencounters with the natives, and above all, the distempers of a moift, fultry climate, combined in wasting his slender band of followers. The undaunted resolution attended of their leader continued, however, for fome time, with little to fustain their spirits, although no sign had yet appeared of discovering those golden regions to which he had promifed to conduct them. length, he was obliged to abandon that inhospi-

table

d Herrera, dec. 3. lib. vi. c. 13. Zarate, lib. i. c. 1. e Herrera, dec. 4. lib. ii. c. 8. Xerez. p. 179.

BOOK table coast, and retire to Chuchama, opposite to the pearl islands, where he hoped to receive a supply of provisions and troops from Panama. 1525.

> But Almagio having failed from that port with. feventy men, flood directly towards that part of the continent where he hoped to meet with his affociate. Not finding him there, he landed his foldiers, who, in fearthing for their companions, underwent the same distresses, and were exposed to the same dangers, which had driven them out of the country. Repulsed at length by the Indians in a sharp conflict, in which their leader loft one of his eyes by the wound of an arrow, they likewife were compelled to reimbark. Chance led them to the place of Pizarro's retreat, where they found forme confolation in recounting their adventures, and comparing their fufferings. As Almagro had advanced as far as the river St. Juan, in the province of Popayan, where both the country. and inhabitants appeared with a more promising aspect, that dawn of better fortune was sufficient to determine fuch fanguine projectors not to abandon their scheme, notwithstanding all that they had fuffered in persecuting it f.

June 24.

They refume the undertak-

ALMAGRO repaired to Panama, in hopes of recruiting their shattered troops. But what he and Pizarro had fuffered, gave his countrymen fuch an unfavourable idea of the fervice, that it was with difficulty he could levy fourfcore men g. Feeble as this reinforcement was, they did not hefitate about refuming their operations. After a long feries of disafters and disappointments, not inferior to those which they had already experienced. part of the armament reached the Bay of St.

Matthew.

f Herrera, dec. 3. lib. viii. c. 11, 12. See NOTE II. 8 Zarate, lib. i. c. 1.

HISTORY, OF AMERICA,

Matthew on the coast of Quito, and landing at BOOK Tacamez, to the fouth of the river of Emeraulds, they beheld a country more champaign and fertile than any they had yet discovered in the Southern Ocean; the natives clad in garments of woollen or cotton stuff, and adorned with several trinkers of gold and filver.

Bur notwithstanding those favourable appearances, magnified beyond the truth, both by the vanity of those who brought the report from Tacamez, and by the fond imagination of those who liftened to them, Pizarro and Almagro durft not venture to invade a country fo populous with a handful of men, enfeebled by fatigue and difeases. They retired to the small island of Gallo, where Pizarro remained with part of the troops, and his affociate returned to Panama, in hopes of bringing such a reinforcement, as might enable them to take possession of the opulent territories whose existence seemed to be no longer doubtful h. . .

But some of the adventurers, less enterprising, Pizarroreor less hardy than their leaders, having fecretly governor of conveyed lamentable accounts of their fufferings Panama. and losses to their friends at Panama, Almagro met with an unfavourable reception from Pedro de los Rios, who had succeeded Pedrarias in the government of that fettlement. After weighing the matter, with that cold œconomical prudence, which appears the first of all virtues to persons whose limited faculties are incapable of conceiving or executing great defigns, he concluded an expedition, attended with fuch certain waste of men, to be so detrimental to an infant and feeble colony, that he not only prohibited the raising of new levies, but

h Xerez. 181. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. viii. c. 13.

BOOK but dispatched a vessel to bring home Pizarro and his companions from the island of Gallo. Almagro and Luque, though deeply affected with these measures, which they could not prevent and durst not oppose, found means of communicating their fentiments privately to Pizarro, and exhorted him not to relinquish an enterprise which was the foundation of all their hopes, and the only means of re-establishing their reputation and fortune, that were both on the decline. Pizarro's mind, bent with inflexible obstinacy on all its purposes, needed no incentive to persist in the scheme. He peremptorily refused to obey the governor of Panama's orders, and employed all his address and eloquence in perfuading his men not to abandon him. But the incredible calamities to which they had been exposed were still so recent in their memories, and the thoughts of revisiting their families and friends after a long absence, rushed with fuch joy into their minds, that when Pizarro drew a line upon the fand with his fword, permitting fuch as wished to return home to pass over it, only thirteen of all the daring veterans in his fervice had resolution to remain with their commanderi.

Perfifts in his delign.

> This small, but determined band, whose names the Spanish historians record with deserved praise, as the persons to whose persevering fortitude their country is indebted for the most valuable of all its American possessions, fixed their refidence in the island of Gorgona. This, as it was farther removed from the coast than Gallo, and uninhabited, they confidered as a more secure retreat, where, unmolested, they might wait for fupplies from Panama, which they trusted that the activity

i Herrera, dec. 3. lib. x. c. 2, 3. Zarate, lib. i. c. 2. Xerez, 181. Gomara Hist. c. 109.

activity of their affociates there would be able to BOOK procure. Almagro and Luque were not inattentive or cold folicitors, and their inceffant imporportunity was feconded by the general voice of the colony, which exclaimed loudly against the infamy of exposing brave men, engaged in the public fervice, and chargeable with no error but what flowed from an excess of zeal and courage. to perish like the most odious criminals in a desart island. Overcome by those intreaties and expostulations, the governor at last consented to send a small vessel to their relief. But that he might not feem to encourage Pizarro to any new enterprife, he would not permit one land-man to embark on board of it.

By this time Pizarro and his companions had re- Hardships mained five months in an island, infamous for the he endured. most unhealthy climate in that region of Americak... During all this period, their eyes were turned towards Panama, in hopes of fuccour from their countrymen; but worn out at length with fruitless expectations, and dispirited with suffering hardships of which they saw no end, they, in despair, came to a resolution of committing themselves to the ocean on a float, rather than continue in that detestable abode. But, on the arrival of the veffel from Panama, they were transported with such joy, that all their sufferings were forgotten. Their hopes revived, and, with a rapid transition, not unnatural among men accustomed by their mode of life to fudden viciffitudes of fortune, high confidence succeeding to extreme dejection, Pizarro eafily induced them to refume their former scheme with fresh ardour. Instead of returning to Panama, they flood towards the fouth-east, and, more fortunate

k See NOTE III.

1525 Discovers Peru.

BOOK fortunate in this than in any of their past efforts, they, on the twentieth day after their departure from Gorgona, discovered the coast of Peru. After touching at some places of less note, they landed at Tumbez, a place of some note, above three degrees fouth of the line, diftinguished for its stately temple, and a palace of the Incas or soveigns of the country !. There the Spaniards feasted their eyes with the first view of the opulence and civilization of the Peruvian empire. They beheld a country fully peopled, and cultivated with an appearance of regular industry; the natives decently clothed, and possessed of ingenuity fo far furpassing the other inhabitants of the New World, as to have the use of tame domeffic animals. But what chiefly attracted their notice, was fuch a show of gold and silver, not only in the ornaments of their persons and temples, but in feveral vessels and utenfils for common use, formed of the same precious metals, as left no room to doubt that they abounded with profusion in the country. Pizarro and his companions feemed now to have attained to the completion of their most fanguine hopes, and fancied that all their wishes and dreams of rich domains, and inexhaustible treasures, would soon be realized.

Returns to Panama.

. 1527.

But with the slender force then under his command. Pizarro could only view the rich country of which he hoped hereafter to obtain possession. He ranged, however, for some time along the coast, maintaining every where a peaceable intercourse with the natives, no less aftonished at their new visitants, than the Spaniards were with the uniform appearance of opulence and cultivation which they beheld. Having explored the country

as

as far as was requifite to afcertain the importance BOOK of the discovery, Pizarro procured from the inhabitants some of their Llamas or tame cattle, to which the Spaniards gave the name of sheep, some vessels of gold and filver, as well as some specimens of their other works of ingenuity, and two young men, whom he proposed to instruct in the Castilian language, that they might serve as interpreters in the expedition which he meditated. With these he arrived at Panama, towards the close of the third year from the time of his departure thence m. No adventurer of the age fuffered hardships or encounter dangers which equal those to which he was exposed during this long pe-The patience with which he endured the one, and the fortitude with which he furmounted the other, exceed whatever is recorded in the hiftory of the New World, where so many romantic displays of those virtues occur.

NEITHER the splendid relation that Pizarro 1528. gave of the incredible opulence of the country of the affor which he had discovered, nor his bitter com-ciates. plaints on account of that unleasonable recall of his forces, which had put it out of his power to attempt making any fettlement there, could move the governor of Panama to swerve from his former purpose. He ffill contended, that the colony was not in a condition to invade such a mighty empire, and refused to authorise an expedition which he forefaw would be fo alluring that it might ruin the province in which he prefided, by an effort beyond its strength. His coldness, however, did not in any degree abate the ardour of the three affociates; but they perceived that they could not carry their scheme into execution with-

m Herrera, dec. 3. lib. x. c. 3-6. dec. 4. lib. ii. c. 7, 8. Vega, 2. lib. i. c. 10-14. Zarate, lib. i. c. 2. Benzo Hist. Novi Orbis, lib. iii. c. 1.

BOOK out the countenance of superior authority, and must solicit their sovereign to grant that permission which they could not extort from his delegate. 1528. With this view, after adjusting among themselves that Pizarro should claim the station of Governor. Almagro that of lieutenant-governor, and Luque the dignity of bishop in the country which they purposed to conquer, they sent Pizarro as their agent to Spain, though their fortunes were now fo much exhausted by the repeated efforts which they had made, that they found fome difficulty in borrowing the small sum requisite towards equipping him for the voyage n.

Pizarro fent negociate.

PIZARRO lost no time in repairing to court, and, to Spain to new as the scene might be to him, he appeared before the emperor with the unembarraffed dignity of a man, conscious of what his services merited; and he conducted his negociations with an infinuating dexterity of address, which could not have been expected either from his education, or former habits of life. His feeling description of his own fufferings, and his pompous account of the country which he had discovered, confirmed by the specimens of its productions which he exhibited, made fuch an impression both on Charles and his ministers, that they not only approved of the intended expedition, but seemed to be inter-Neglects his efted in the fuccess of its leader. Presuming on those dispositions in his favour, Pizarro paid little attention to the interest of his associates. As the pretensions of Luque did not interfere with his own, he obtained for him, the ecclefiaftical dignity to which he aspired. For Almagro, he claimed only the command of the fortress which should be erected at Tumbez. To himself he secured

affociates,

ⁿ Herrera, dec. 14. lib. iii. c. 1. Vega, 2. lib. 1. c. 14.

whatever

whatever his boundless ambition could desire. BOOK He was appointed governor, captain general, and adelantado of all the country which he had discovered, and hoped to conquer, with supreme authority, civil as well as military; and a full right and procures to all the privileges and emoluments usually grant-command to ed to adventurers in the New World. His jurif-himself. diction was declared to extend two hundred leagues along the coast to the south of the river St. Jago, to be independent of the governor of Panama; and he had power to nominate all the officers who were to ferve under him. In return for those concessions, which cost the court of Spain nothing, as the enjoyment of them depended upon the fuccess of his own efforts, Pizarro engaged to raise two hundred and fifty men, and to provide the ships, arms, and warlike stores requisite towards subjecting, to the crown of Castile, the country of which the government was allotted him.

INCONSIDERABLE as the body of men was, Slender he which Pizarro had undertaken to raife, his funds was able to and credit were fo low that he could hardly com-raife. plete half the number; and after obtaining his patents from the crown, he was obliged to steal privately out of the port of Seville, in order to elude the scrutiny of the officers who had it in charge to examine whether he had fulfilled the stipulations in his contract o. Before his departure, however, he received fome fupply of money from Cortes, who having returned to Spain about this time, was willing to contribute his aid towards enabling an ancient companion, with whose talents and courage he was well acquainted, to begin a career of glory fimilar to that which he himself finished P.

HE

p Ibid. lib. vii. c. 10.

o Herrera, dec. 4. lib. vii. c. 9.

HE landed at Nombre de Dios, and marched BOOK across the isthmus to Panama, accompanied by his three brothers, Ferdinand, Juan, and Gonzalo, of whom the first was born in lawful wedlock, the two latter, like himself, were of illegitimate birth, and by Francisco de Alcantara, his his mother's brother. They were all in the prime of life, and of fuch abilities and courage, as fitted them to take a diffinguished part in his subfequent tranfactions.

1530. Almagro.

On his arrival at Panama, Pizarro found Al-His reconci-magro fo much exasperated at the manner in which he had conducted his negociation, that he not only refused to act any longer in concert with a man by whose perfidy he had been excluded from the power and honours to which he had a just claim, but laboured to form a new affociation, in order to thwart or to rival his former confederate in his discoveries. Pizarro, however, had more wisdom and address than to suffer a rupture fo fatal to all his schemes, to become irreparable. By offering voluntarily to relinquish the office of adelantado, and promifing to concur in foliciting that title, with an independent government for Almagro, he gradually mitigated the rage of an open-hearted foldier, which had been violent, but was not implacable. Luque, highly fatisfied with having been fuccefsful in all his own pretentions, cordially feconded Pizarro's endeavours. A reconciliation was effected; and the confederacy renewed on its original terms, that the enterprise should be carried on at the common expence of the affociates, and the profits accruing from it should be equally divided among them!

EVEN

⁹ Herrera, dec. 4. lib. vii. c. 9. Zarate, lib. 1. c. 3. Vega, 2. lib. 1. C. 14.

EVEN after their re-union, and the utmost ef- BOOK forts of their interest, three small vessels, and a hundred and eighty foldiers, thirty-fix of whom were hor smen, composed the armament which Their armathey were able to fit out. But the aftonihing ment. progress of the Spaniards in America had inspired them with such ideas of their own superiority, that Pizzero did not hefitate to fail with this contemptible force to invade a great empire. Almagro was was left at Panama, as formerly, to follow him February. with what reinforcement of men he should be able to muster. As the season for embarking was properly chosen, and the course of navigation between Panama and Peru was now better known, Pizarro compleated the voyage in thirteen days; though, by the force of the winds and currents, he was carried above an hundred leagues to the north of Tumbez, the place of his destination, and obliged to land his troops in the bay of St. Matthew. Without losing a moment, he began Land in to advance towards the fouth, taking care, howe-Pero. ver, not to depart far from the fea-shore, both that he might eafily effect a junction with the supplies which he expected from Panama, and fecure a retreat in case of any disaster, by keeping as near as possible to his ships. But as the country in feveral parts on the coast of Peru is barren, unhealthful, and thinly peopled; as the Spaniards had to pass all the rivers near their mouth, where the body of water is greatest; and as the imprudence of Pizarro, in attacking the natives when he should have studied to gain their confidence, had forced them to abandon their habitations; famine, fatigue, and difeafes of various kinds, brought upon him and his followers calamities hardly inferior to those which they had endured in their former expedition. What they now experienced corresponded so ill with the alluring description of the country given by Pizarro, that many

BOOK many began to reproach him, and every foldier must have become cold to the service, if, even in this unfertile region of Peru, they had not met 1531. with fome appearances of wealth and cultivation, which feemed to justify the report of their leader. At length they reached the province of Coaque; April 14. and having furprifed the principal fettlement of the natives, they feized there veffels and ornaments of gold and filver, to the amount of thirty thoufand pefos, with other booty of fuch value, as dispelled all their doubts, and inspired the most

desponding with fanguine hopes.

a reinforce-

Hismeasures PIZARRO himself was so much delighted with for obtaining this rich spoil, which he considered as the first fruits of a land flowing with treasure, that he instantly dispatched one of his ships, to Panama, with a large remittance to Almagro; and another to Nicaragua, with a confiderable fum to fome perfons of influence in that province, in hopes of alluring adventurers, by this early display of the wealth which he had acquired. Meanwhile, he continued his march along the coast, and disdaining to employ any means of reducing the natives but force, he attacked them with fuch violence in their fcattered habitations, as compelled them either to retire into the interior country, or to fubmit to his yoke. This fudden appearance of invaders, whose aspect and manners were so ftrange, and whose power seemed to be so irresistible, made the same dreadful impression as in other parts of America. Pizarro hardly met with refistance until he attacked the island of Puna in the bay of Guayquil. As that was better peopled than the country through which he had paffed, and its inhabitants fiercer and less civilized than those of the continent, they defended themselves with fuch obstinate valour, that Pizarro spent six ab garmin out day hi el

Herrera, dec. 4. lib. vii. c. 9. lib. ii. c. 1. Xerez, 182.

months in reducing them to subjection. From BOOK Puna he proceeded to Tumbez, where the diftempers that raged among his men compelled him to remain for three months

WHILE he was thus employed, he began to reap advantage from his own attention, to spread the fame of his first success at Coaque. Two Receives different detachments arrived from Nicaragua, fome, and which, though neither exceeded thirty men, he advance. confidered as a reinforcement of great confequence to his feeble band, especially as the one was under the command of Sebastian Benalcazar. and the other of Hernando Soto, officers not inferior in merit and reputation to any who had ferved in America. From Tumbez he proceeded May 16. to the river Piura, and, in an advantageous station near the mouth of it, he established the first Spanish colony in Peru; to which he gave the name of St. Michael.

As Pizarro continued to advance towards the centre of the Peruvian empire, he gradually received more full information concerning its extent and policy, as well as the fituation of its affairs at that juncture. Without some knowledge of these he could not have conducted his operations with propriety; and without a fuitable attention to thefe, it is impossible to account for the progress which the Spaniards had already made, or to unfold the causes of their subsequent success.

Ar the time when the Spaniards invaded Peru, State of the the dominions of its fovereigns extended in length, empire. from north to fouth, above fifteen hundred miles along the Pacific Ocean. Its breadth, from east to west, was much less considerable; being uni-VOL. III.

P. Sancho ap. Ramus. iii. p. 371, F. Herrera, dec. 4. lib. vii. c. 18. lib. ix. c. 1. Zarate, lib. ii. c. 2, 3. Xeres, p. 182, &c.

BOOK formly bounded by the vast ridge of the Andes. VI. stretching from its one extremity to the other. Peru, like the rest of the New World, was ori-1532. ginally possessed by small independent tribes, differing from each other in manners, and in their forms of rude policy. All, however, were fo little civilized, that, if the traditions concerning their mode of life, preserved among their descendants, deserve credit, they must be classed among the most unimproved savages of America. Strangers to every species of cultivation or regular induftry, without any fixed relidence, and unacquainted with those sentiments and obligations which form the first bonds of social union, they are faid to have roamed about naked in the forests. with which the country was then covered, more like wild beafts than like men. After they had struggled for feveral ages with the hardships and calamities which are inevitable in this barbarous ftate, and when no circumstance seemed to indicate the approach of any uncommon effort towards improvement, we are told that there appeared, on the banks of the lake Titiaca, a man and woman of majestic form, and clothed in decent garments. They declared themselves to be the children of the Sun, fent by their beneficent parent, who beheld with pity the miseries of the human race, to instruct and to reclaim them. At their persuasion, enforced by reverence for the divinity in whose name they were supposed to speak, feveral of the dispersed savages united together. and receiving their commands as heavenly injunctions, followed them to Cuzco, where they fet-

Manco Capac and Mama Ocollo, for fuch were the names of those extraordinary personages, having thus collected some wandering tribes, formed that social union, which, by multiplying the desires, and uniting the efforts of the human species.

tled, and began to lay the foundations of a city.

species, excites industry, and leads to improve-BOOK ment. Manco Capac instructed the men in agriculture, and other useful arts. Mama Ocollo taught the women to spin and to weave. By the labour of the one fex, subsistence became less precarious; by that of the other, life was rendered more comfortable. After fecuring the objects of first necessity in an infant state, by providing food, raiment, and habitations for the rude people of whom he took charge, Manco Capac turned his attention towards introducing fuch laws and policy as might perpetuate their happiness. By his institutions, which shall be more particularly explained hereafter, the various relations in private life were established, and the duties resulting from them prescribed with such propriety, as gradually formed a barbarous people to decency of manners. In public administration, the functions of persons in authority were so precisely defined, and the subordination of those under their jurisdiction maintained with fuch a fleady hand, that the fociety in which he prefided foon affumed the afpect of a regular and well-governed state.

Thus, according to the Indian tradition, was founded the empire of the Incas or Lords of Peru. At first, its extent was small. The territory of Manco Capac did not reach above eight leagues from Cuzco. But within its narrow precincts, he exercifed absolute and uncontrolled authority. His fuccessors, as their dominions expanded, arrogated a fimilar jurisdiction over their subjects: the despotism of Asia was not more complete. The Incas were not only obeyed as monarchs, but Their blood was held to be revered as divinities. facred, and, by prohibiting intermarriages with the people, was never contaminated by mixing with that of any other race. The family, thus separated from the rest of the nation, was distin-C 2

BOOK guished by peculiarities in dress and ornaments, which it was unlawful for others to assume. The monarch himself appeared with ensigns of royalty referved for him alone: and received from his fubjects marks of obsequious homage and respect, which approached almost to adoration.

> But, among the Peruvians, this unbounded power of their monarchs is faid to have been uniformly accompanied with attention to the good of their subjects. It was not the rage of conquest, if we may believe the accounts of their countrymen, that prompted the Incas to extend their dominions, but the defire of diffusing the bleffings of civilization, and the knowledge of the arts which they possessed, among the barbarous people whom they reduced. During a fuccession of twelve monarchs, it is faid that not one deviated from this beneficent character t

> WHEN the Spaniards first visited the coast of Peru, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-fix, Huana Capac, the twelfth monarch from the founder of the state, was seated on the throne. He is represented as a prince diffinguished not only for the pacific virtues peculiar to the race. but eminent for his martial talents. By his victorious arms the Kingdom of Quito was subjected, a conquest of such extent and importance as almost doubled the power of the Peruvian empire. He was fond of reliding in the capital of that valuable province, which he had added to his dominions; and, notwithstanding the ancient and fundamental law of the monarchy against polluting the royal blood by any foreign alliance, he married the daughter of the vanquish-

DESCRIPTION OF STREET

t Cieca de Leon, Chron. c. 44. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. x. c. 4. dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 1. 7.

VI.

1532.

ed monarch of Quito. She bore him a fon nam- BOOK ed Atahualpa, whom, on his death at Quito, which feems to have happened about the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-nine, he appointed his fucceffor in that kingdom, leaving the rest of his dominions to Huascar, his eldest son, by a mother of the royal race. Greatly as the Peruvians revered the memory of a monarch who had reigned with more reputation and splendour than any of his predecessors, the destination of Huana Capac concerning the fuccession, appeared fo repugnant to a maxim coeval with the empire, and founded on authority deemed facred, that it was no fooner known at Cuzco than it excited general difguft. Encouraged by those sentiments of his subjects, Huascar required his brother to renounce the government of Quito, and to acknowledge him as his lawful superior. But it had been the first care of Atahualpa to gain a large body of troops which had accompanied his father to Quito. These were the flower of the Peruvian warriors, to whose valour Huana Capac had been indebted for all his victiories. Relying on their support, Atahualpa first eluded his brother's demand, and then marched against him in hostile array.

Thus the ambition of two young men, the title of the one founded on ancient usage, and that of the other afferted by the veteran troops, involved Peru in civil war, a calamity, to which, under a fuccession of virtuous princes, it had hitherto been a stranger. In such a contest, the issue The force of arms triumphed over was obvious. the authority of laws. Atahualpa remained victorious, and made a cruel use of his victory. Conscious of the defect in his own title to the crown, he attempted to exterminate the royal race, by putting to death all the children of the Sun descended from Manco Capac, whom he could feize. VI. tical motive, the life of his unfortunate rival Huafcar, who had been taken prisoner in the battle which decided the fate of the empire, was saved for some time, that, by issuing orders in his name, the usurper might more easily establish his own authority.

Favourable to the progress of Pizarro.

WHEN Pizarro landed in the bay of St. Matthew, this civil war raged between the two brothers in its greatest fury. Had he made any hos-tile attempt in his former visit to Peru in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-seven, he must then have encountered the force of a powerful state, united under a monarch, possessed of capacity and courage, and unembarraffed with any care that could divert him from opposing his progress. But at this time, the two competitors, though they received early accounts of the arrival and violent proceedings of the Spaniards, were fo intent upon the operations of a war, which they deemed more interesting, that they paid no attention to the motions of an enemy, too inconsiderable in number to excite any great alarm, and to whose career it would be easy, as they imagined, to give a check, when more at leifure.

He avails himfelf of it, and advances. By this fortunate coincidence of events, whereof Pizarro could have no forelight, and of which,
from his defective mode of intercourse with the
people of the country, he remained long ignorant, he was permitted to carry on his operations
unmoletted, and advanced to the centre of a
great empire before one effort of its power was
exerted to stop his progress. During their progress, the Spaniards had acquired some impersect
knowledge of this struggle between the two contending

u Zarate, lib. i. c. 15. Vega, 1. lib. ix. c. 12. and 32-40. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. i. c. 2. lib. iii. c. 17.

tending factions. The first complete information, BOOK with respect to it, they received from messengers whom Huascar sent to Pizarro, in order to solicit his aid against Atahualpa, whom he represented as a rebel and an usurper w. Pizarro perceived at once the importance of this intelligence, and forefaw fo clearly all the advantages which might be derived from this divided state of the kingdom which he had invaded, that, without waiting for the reinforcement which he expected from Panama, he determined to push forward, while intestine discord put it out of the power of the Peruvians to attack him with their whole force, and while, by taking part, as circumstances should incline him, with one of the competitors, he might be enabled with greater ease to crush both. Enterprifing as the Spaniards of that age were in all their operations against Americans, and distinguished as Pizarro was among his countrymen for daring courage, we can hardly suppose, that after having proceeded hitherto flowly, and with much caution, he would have changed at once his fystem of operation, and have ventured upon a measure fo hazardous, without fome new motive or prospect to justify it.

As he was obliged to divide his troops, in or-State of his der to leave a garrison in St. Michael, sufficient to forces. defend a station of equal importance as a place of retreat in case of any disaster, and as a port for receiving any supplies which should come from Panama, he began his march with a very flender and ill-accoutred train of followers. They confifted of fixty-two horsemen x, and an hundred and two foot-foldiers, of whom twenty were armed with cross-bows, and three with muskets. He directed his course towards Caxamalca, a fmall town at the diftance of twelve days march from

w Zarate, lib. ii. c. 3.

x See NOTE IV.

BOOK from St. Michael, where Atahualpa was encamped with a confiderable body of troops. Before he had proceeded far, an officer dispatched by the Inca met him with a valuable present from that prince, accompanied with a proffer of his alliance, and affurances of a friendly reception at Caxamalca. Pizarro, according to the usual artifice of his countrymen in America, pretended to come as the ambassador of a very powerful monarch, and declared that he was now advancing with an intention to offer Atahualpa his aid against those enemies who disputed his title to the throne y.

Peruvians concerning

Ideas of the As the object of the Spaniards in entering their country was altogether incomprehenfible to the their defigns. Peruvians, they had formed various conjectures concerning it, without being able to decide when ther they should consider their new guests as beings of a superior nature, who had visited them from some beneficent motive, or as formidable avengers of their crimes, and enemies to their repose and liberty. The continual professions of the Spaniards, that they came to enlighten them with the knowledge of truth, and lead them in the way of happiness, favoured the former opinion; the outrages which they committed, their rapaciousness and cruelty, were awful confirmations of the latter. While in this state of uncertainty. Pizarro's declaration of his pacific intentions fo far removed all the Inca's fears, that he determined to give him a friendly reception. In consequence of this resolution, the Spaniards were allowed to march in tranquillity across the fandy defert between St. Michael and Motupè, where the most feeble effort of an enemy, added to the unavoidable diffresses which they suffered in passing through

that comfortless region, must have proved fatal BOOK to them z. From Motupe they advanced towards the mountains which encompass the low country of Peru, and passed through a defile so narrow and inaccessible, that a few men might have defended it against a numerous army. But here likewife, from the fame inconsiderate credulity of the Inca, the Spaniards met with no opposition, and took quiet possession of a fort erected for the fecurity of that important station. As they now approached near to Caxamalca, Atahualpa renewed his professions of friendship; and as an evidence of his fincerity, fent them prefents of greater value than the former.

1532-

On entering Caxamalca, Pizarro took poffessi-Arrive at on of a large court, on one fide of which was a Caxamaka. house which the Spanish historians call a palace of the Inca, and on the other a temple of the Sun, the whole furrounded with a ftrong rampart or wall of earth. When he had posted his troops in this advantageous station, he dispatched Hernando Soto, and his brother Ferdinand, to the camp of Atahualpa, which was about a league distant from the town. He instructed them to confirm the declaration which he had formerly made of his pacific disposition, and to desire an interview with the Inca, that he might explain more fully the intention of the Spaniards in visiting his country. They were treated with all the respectful hospitality usual among the Peruvians in the reception of their most cordial friends, and Atahualpa promised to visit the Spanish commander next day in his quarters. The decent deportment of the Peruvian monarch, the order of his court, and the reverence with which his subjects approached

VI. tonished those Spaniards, who had never met in America with any thing more dignified than the petty cazique of a barbarous tribe. But their eyes were still more powerfully attracted by the vast profusion of wealth which they observed in the Inca's camp. The rich ornaments worn by him and his attendants, the vessels of gold and silver in which the repast offered to them was served up, the multitude of utensils of every kind formed of those precious metals, opened profpects far exceeding any idea of opulence that

a European of the fixteenth century could form.

Perfidious scheme of Pizarro.

On their return to Caxamalca, while their minds were yet warm with admiration and defire of the wealth which they had beheld, they gave fuch a description of it to their countrymen, as confirmed Pizarro in a refolution which he had already taken. From his own observation of American manners during his long fervice in the New World, as well as from the advantages which Cortes had derived from feizing Montezuma, he knew of what confequence it was to have the Inca in his power. For this purpose he formed a plan as daring as it was perfidious. Notwithstanding the character he had affumed of an ambaffador from a powerful monarch, who courted an alliance with the Inca, and in violation of the repeated offers which he had made to him of his own friendship and affistance, he determined to avail himself of the unfufpicious fimplicity with which Atahualpa relied on his professions, and to seize his person during the interview to which he had invited him. He prepared for the execution of his scheme with the fame deliberate arrangement, and with as little compunction, as if it had reflected no difgrace on himself or his country. He divided his cavalry

valry into three small squadrons, under the com-BOOK mand of his brother Ferdinand, Soto, and Benalcazar; his infantry was formed in one body, except twenty of most tried courage, whom he kept near his own person to support him in the dangerous fervice which he referved for himfelf; the artillery, confisting of two field pieces: and the crofs-bowmen, were placed opposite to the avenue by which Atahualpa was to approach. All were commanded to keep within the square, and not to move until the fignal for action was given.

EARLY in the morning the Peruvian camp was Nov. 16. all in motion. But as Atahualpa was folicitous to Visited by the Inca. appear with the greatest splendour and magnificence in his first interview with the strangers, the preparations for this were fo tedious, that the day was far advanced before he began his march. Even then, left the order of the procession should be deranged, he moved so slowly, that the Spaniards became impatient and apprehensive that some fuspicion of their intention might be the cause of this delay. In order to remove this, Pizarro difpatched one of his officers with fresh assurances of his friendly disposition. At length the Inca approached. First of all appeared four hundred men, in an uniform dress, as harbingers to clear the way before him. He himself, sitting on a throne or couch, adorned with plumes of various colours, and almost covered with plates of gold and filver enriched with precious stones, was carried on the shoulders of his principal attendants. Behind him came some chief officers of his court, carried in the same manner. Several bands of fingers and dancers accompanied this cavalcade: and the whole plain was covered with troops amounting to more than thirty thousand men.

Strange harrangue of father Val-

verde.

As the Inca drew near the Spanish quarters, father Vincent Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand, and a breviary in the other, and in a long discourse explained to him the doctrine of the creation, the fall of Adam, the incarnation, the fufferings and refurrection of Jesus Christ, the appointment of St; Peter as God's vicegerent on earth, the transmission of his apostolic power by succession to the popes, the donation made to the king of Castile by pope Alexander of all the regions in the New World. In consequence of all this, he required Atahualpa to embrace the Christian faith, to acknowledge the supreme jurisdiction of the pope, and to submit to the king of Castile as his lawful fovereign; promising, if he complied instantly with this requisition, that the Castilian monarch would protect his dominions, and permit him to continue in the exercise of his royal authority; but if he should impiously refuse to obey this summons, he denounced war against him in his master's name, and threatened him with the most dreadful effects of his vengeance,

Reply of the

This strange harangue, unfolding deep mysteries, and alluding to unknown facts, of which no power of eloquence could have conveyed at once a diffinct idea to an American, was so lamely translated by an unskilful interpreter, little acquainted with the idiom of the Spanish tongue, and incapable of expressing himself with propriety in the language of the Inca, that its general tenor was altogether incomprehenfible to Atahualpa. Some parts in it of more obvious meaning. filled him with aftonishment and indignation. His reply, however, was temperate. He began with observing, that he was lord of the dominions over which he reigned by hereditary succession; and added, that he could not conceive how a foreign

reign priest should pretend to dispose of territo- BOOK ries which did not belong to him; that if such a preposterous grant had been made, he, who was the rightful possessor, refused to confirm it; that he had no inclination to renounce the religious inftitutions established by his ancestors; nor would he forfake the fervice of the Sun, the immortal divinity whom he and his people reverred, in order to worship the God of the Spaniards, who was subject to death; that with respect to other matters contained in his discourse, as he had never heard of them before, and did not now understand their meaning, he defired to know where he had learned things fo extraordinary. "In this book," answered Valverde, reaching out to him his breviary. The Inca opened it eagerly, and turning over the leaves, lifted it to his ear: "This," fays he, "is filent; it tells me nothing;" and threw it with disdain to the ground. The enraged monk, running towards his countrymen, cried out, "To arms, Christians, to arms, the word of God is insulted; avenge this profanation on those impious dogs b."

Dejettion

PIZARRO, who, during this long conference, Pizarro athad with difficulty restrained his soldiers, eager to Peruvians, feize the rich spoils of which they had now so near a view, immediately gave the fignal of affault. At once the martial music struck up, the cannon and muskets began to fire, the horse sallied out fiercely to the charge, the infantry rushed on fword in hand. The Peruvians, aftonished at the fuddenness of an attack which they did not expect, and dismayed with the destructive effects of the fire-arms, and the irreliftible impression of the cavalry, fled with univerfal consternation on every fide, without attempting either to annoy the enemy, or to defend themselves. Pizarro, at the head

VI. the Inca; and though his nobles crowded around him with officious zeal, and fell in numbers at his feet, while they vied one with another in facrific-

and feizes the Inca.

feet, while they vied one with another in facrificing their own lives, that they might cover the facred person of their sovereign, the Spaniards soon penetrated to the royal feat; and Pizarro feizing the Inca by the arm, dragged him to the ground, and carried him as a prisoner to his quarters. The fate of the monarch increased the precipitate flight of his followers. The Spaniards purfued them towards every quarter, and with deliberate and unrelenting barbarity continued to flaughter wretched fugitives, who never once offered at refiftance. The carnage did not cease until the close of day. Above four thouland Peruvians were killed. Not a fingle Spaniard fell, nor was one wounded but Pizarro himfelf, whose hand was flightly hurt by one of his own foldiers, while ftruggling eagerly to lay hold on the Inca c.

THE plunder of the field was rich beyond any idea which the Spaniards had yet formed concerning the wealth of Peru; and they were fo transported with the value of the acquisition, as well as the greatness of their success, that they passed the night in the extravagant exultation natural to indigent adventurers on such an extraordinary change of fortune.

Dejection of the Inca.

Ar first the captive monarch could hardly believe a calamity which he so little expected to be real. But he soon felt all the misery of his fate, and the dejection into which he sunk was in proportion to the height of grandeur from which he had fallen. Pizarro, afraid of losing all the advantages which he hoped to derive from the possession of such a prisoner, laboured to console him with

with professions of kindness and respect, that cor- BOOK responded ill with his actions. By residing among the Spaniards, the Inca quickly discovered their ruling passion, which, indeed, they were no-wise folicitous to conceal, and by applying to that, made an attempt to recover his liberty. He of- His offer of fered as a ranfom what aftonished the Spaniards, ranfom. even after all they now knew concerning the opulence of his kingdom. The apartment in which he was confined was twenty-two feet in length and fixteen in breadth; he undertook to fill it with vessels of gold as high as he could reach. Pizarro closed eagerly with this tempting proposal, and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber, to mark the flipulated height to which the treafure was to rife.

ATAHUALPA, transported with having obtained some prospect of liberty, took measures instantly for fulfilling his part of the agreement, by fending messengers to Cuzco, Quito, and other places, where gold had been amassed in largest quantities, either for adorning the temples of their gods, or the houses of the Inca, to bring what was necessary for completing his ransom directly to Caxamalca. Though Atahualpa was now in the custody of his enemies, yet so much were the Peruvians accustomed to respect every mandate issued by their sovereign, that his orders were executed with the greatest alacrity. Soothed with hopes of recovering his liberty by this means, the fubjects of the Inca were afraid of endangering his life by forming any other scheme for his relief; and though the force of the empire was still entire, no preparations were made, and no army affembled, to avenge their own wrongs or those of their monarch d.

BOOK 1532. The Spaniards vifit different provinces.

The Spaniards remained in Caxamalca tranquil and unmolested. Small detachments of their number marched into remote provinces of the empire, and instead of meeting with any opposition, were every where received with marks of the most submissive respect.

Almagro

INCONSIDERABLE as those parties were, and arrives with desirous as Pizarro might be to obtain some knowledge of the interior state of the country, he could not have ventured upon any diminution of December, his main body, if he had not about this time received an account of Almagro's having landed at St. Michael with fuch a reinforcement as would almost double the number of his followers s. The arrival of this long-expected fuccour was not more agreeable to the Spaniards, than alarming to the Inca. He faw the power of his enemies increale: and as he knew neither the fource whence they derived their fupplies, nor the means by which they were conveyed to Peru, he could not foresee to what a height the inundation that poured in upon his dominions might rife. While difquieted with fuch apprehensions, he learned that fome Spaniards, in their way to Cuzco, had vifited his brother Huascar in the place where he kept him confined, and that the captive prince had represented to them the justice of his own cause, and as an inducement to espouse it, had promised them a quantity of treasure vastly exceeding what he had engaged to pay for his ranfom. If the. Spaniards should listen to this proposal, he perceived his own destruction to be inevitable; and fuspecting that their insatiable thirst for gold would tempt them to lend a favourable ear to it, he determined to facrifice his brother's life, that he might fave his own; and his orders for this purpose were

Huafcar put to death.

1533-

e See NOTE VIII.

f Xerez, 204. Herrera, dec 5. lib. iii. c. 1, 2.

executed, like all his other commands, with fcru- BOOK VI. pulous punctuality 8.

MEANWHILE, Indians daily arrived at Caxamalca from different parts of the kingdom, load-The Spanied with treasure. A great part of the stipulated ards make a division of quantity was now amassed, and Atahualpa assured the spoil. the Spaniards, that the only thing which prevented the whole from being brought in, was the remoteness of the provinces where it was deposited. But fuch vast piles of gold, presented continually to the view of needy foldiers, had so inflamed their avarice, that it was impossible any longer to restrain their impatience to obtain possession of this rich booty. Orders were given for melting down the whole, except some pieces of curious fabric, referved as a prefent for the emperor. After fetting apart the fifth due to the crown, and a hundred thousand pesos as a donative to the soldiers which arrived with Almagro, there remained one million five hundred and twenty-eight thoufand five hundred pefos to Pizarro and his follow-The festival of St. James, the patron faint of Spain, was the day chosen for the partition of this vast sum; and the manner of conducting it strongly marks that strange alliance of fanaticism with avarice, which I have more than once had occasion to point out as a striking feature in the character of the conquerors of the New World. Though affembled to divide the spoils of an innocent people, procured by deceit, extortion, and cruelty, the transaction began with a folemn invocation of the name of Godh, as if they could have expected the guidence of Heaven in diftributing those wages of iniquity. In this division above eight thousand pesos, at that time not infe-

July 25.

g Zarate, lib. ii. c. 6. Gomara Hist. c. 115. Herrera, dec. 4. lib. iii. c. 2.

h Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 3.

VOL. III.

BOOK rior in value to as many pounds fterling in the present century, fell to the share of each horseman, and half that fum to each foot soldier. Pi-· zarro himself, and his officers, received dividends in proportion to the dignity of their rank.

The effect of it.

THERE is no example in history of fuch a fudden acquisition of wealth by military service, nor was ever a fum fo great divided among fo fmall a number of foldiers. Many of them having received a recompence for their fervices far beyond their most fanguine hopes, were so impatient to retire from fatigue and danger in order to spend the remainder of their days in their native country, in ease and oppulence, that they demanded their discharge with clamorous importunity. Pizarro, fenfible that from fuch men he could expect neither enterprise in action nor fortitude in suffering, and perfuaded that wherever they went, the display of their riches would allure adventurers, less opulent but more hardy, to his standard, granted their fuit without reluctance, and permitted above fixty of them to accompany his brother Ferdinand, whom he fent to Spain with an account of his fuccess, and the present destined for the emperori.

The Inca liberty in vain.

THE Spaniards having divided among them the demands his treasure amassed for the Inca's ransom, he insisted with them to fulfil their promise of setting him at liberty. But nothing was farther from Pizarro's thoughts. During his long service in the New World, he had imbibed those ideas and maxims of his fellow foldiers, which led them to confider its inhabitants as an inferior race, neither worthy of the name, nor intitled to the rights of men. In his compact with Atahualpa, he had no other object than to amuse his captive with such a profpect

i Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4. Vega, p. 2. lib. i. c. 38.

bect of recovering his liberty, as might induce BOOK him to lend all the aid of his authority towards collecting the wealth of his kingdom. Having now accomplished this, he no longer regarded his plighted faith; and at the very time when the credulous prince hoped to be replaced on his throne, he had fecretly resolved to bereave him of life. Many circumstances seem to have concurred in prompting him to this action, the most criminal and atrocious that stains the Spanish name, amidst all the deeds of violence committed in carrying on the conquest of the New World.

1533.

THOUGH Pizarro had seized the Inca, in imi- He and the tation of Cortes's conduct towards the Mexican Spaniards mutually monarch, he did not possess talents for carrying jealous. on the same artful plan of policy. Destitute of the temper and address requisite for gaining the confidence of his prisoner, he never reaped all the advantages which might have been derived from being mafter of his person and authority. Atahualpa was, indeed, a prince of greater abilities and discernment than Montezuma, and seems to have penetrated more thoroughly into the character and intentions of the Spaniards. Mutual fuspicion and distrust accordingly took place between them. The first attention with which it was necessary to guard a captive of such importance, greatly increased the fatigue of military duty. The utility of keeping him appeared inconsiderable; and Pizarro felt him as an incumberance, from which he wished to be delivered k.

ALMAGRO and his followers had made a de-Almagro mand of an equal share in the Inca's ransom; and and his followers dethough Pizarro had bestowed upon the private mand his men the large gratuity which I have mentioned, life.

k Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4.

of great value, they still continued distaissied.

They were apprehensive, that as long as Atahualpa remained a prisoner, Pizarro's soldiers would apply whatever treasure should be acquired, to make up what was wanting of the quantity stipulated for his ransom, and under that pretext exclude them from any part of it. They insisted eagerly on putting the Inca to death, that all the adventurers in Peru might thereaster be on an equal footing!

Motives which induced Pizarro to consent.

PIZARRO himself began to be alarmed with accounts of forces affembling in the remote provinces of the empire, and fuspected Atahualpa of hav-Thefe fears ing iffued orders for that purpose. and fuspicions were artfully increased by Philippillo, one of the Indians whom Pizarro had carried off from Tumbez in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty, and whom he employed as an interpreter. The function which he performed admitting this man to familiar intercourse with the captive monarch, he prefumed notwithstanding the meanness of his birth, to raise his affections to a Coya, or descendant of the Sun, one of Atahualpa's wives; and seeing no prospect of gratifying that passion during the life of the monarch, he endeavoured to fill the ears of the Spaniards with fuch accounts of his fecret defigns and preparations, as might awaken their jealoufy and incite them to cut him off.

WHILE Almagro and his followers openly demanded the life of the Inca, and Philippillo laboured to ruin him by private machinations, that unhappy prince inadvertently contributed to haften his own fate. During his confinement he had attached

¹ Zarate, lib. ii. c. 7. Vega, p. 2. lib. i. c. 7. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4.

tached himself with peculiar affection to Ferdi-BOOK nand Pizarro and Hernando Soto; who, as they were persons of birth and education superior to the rough adventurers with whom they ferved, were accustomed to behave with more decency and attention to the captive monarch. Soothed with this respect from persons of such high rank, he delighted in their fociety; but in the presence of the governor he was uneasy and over-awed, This dread foon came to be mingled with contempt. Among the European arts, what he admired most was that of reading and writing; and he long deliberated with himself, whether he should regard it as a natural or acquired talent. In order to determine this, he defired one of the foldiers, who guarded him, to write the name of God on the nail of his thumb. This he shewed fuccessively to several Spaniards, asking its meaning; and to his amazement, they all, without hefitation, returned the fame answer. At length Pizarro entered; and on presenting it to him, he blushed, and with some confusion was obliged to acknowledge his ignorance. From that moment, Atahualpa confidered him as a mean person, less instructed than his own foldiers; and he had not address enough to conceal the sentiments with which this discovery inspired him. To be the object of a barbarian's fcorn, not only mortified the pride of Pizarro, but excited fuch refentment in his breast, as added force to all the other considerations which prompted him to put the Inca to deathm.

Bur in order to give some colour of justice to His trial this violent action, and that he himself might be exempted from standing fingly responsible for the commission of it, Pizarro resolved to try

m Hererra, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4. Vega, p. 11. lib. i. c. 38.

BOOK the Inca with all the formalities observed in the criminal courts of Spain. Pizarro himself, and Almagro, with two affistants, were appointed judges, with full power to acquit or to condemn: an attorney-general was named to carry on the profecution in the king's name; counsellors were chosen to assist the prisoner in his defence; and clerks were ordained to record the proceedings of Before this strange tribunal, a charge was exhibited still more amazing. It consisted of various articles; that Atahualpa, though a bastard, had dispossessed the rightful owner of the throne, and usurped the regal power; that he had put his brother and lawful fovereign to death; that he was an idolater, and had not only permitted, but commanded the offering of human facrifices; that he had a great number of concubines; that fince his imprisonment he had wasted and embezzled the royal treasures, which now belonged of right to the conquerors; that he had incited his fubjects to take arms against the Spaniards. On these heads of accusation, some of which are so ludicrous, others fo abfurd, that the effrontery of Pizarro, in making them the foundation of a ferious procedure, is not less surprising than his injustice, did the court go on to try the sovereign of a great empire, over whom it had no jurisdiction. With respect to each of the articles, witnesses were examined; but as they delivered their evidence in their native tongue, Philippillo had it in his power to give their words whatever turn best suited his malevolent intentions. To judges predetermined in their opinion, this evidence appeared sufficient. They pronounced Atahualpa guilty, and condemned him to be burnt alive. Friar Valverde profituted the authority of his facred function to confirm this fentence, and by his fignature warranted it to be just. Astonished at his fate, Atahualpa endeavoured to avert it by his tears,

He is condemned,

tears, by promises and by intreaties, that he might BOOK be fent to Spain, where a monarch would be the arbiter of his lot. But pity never touched the un-1533. feeling heart of Pizarro. He ordered him to be led inftantly to execution; and what added to the bitterness of his last moments, the same monk who had just ratified his doom, offered to console, and attempted to convert him. The most powerful argument Valverdè employed to prevail with him to embrace the Christian faith, was a promise The dread of of a mitigation in his punishment. a cruel death extorted from the trembling victim a defire of receiving baptism. The ceremony and execut. was performed; and Atahualpa, instead of being ed. burnt, was strangled at the stake n.

HAPPILY for the credit of the Spanish nation, Several Spaeven among the profligate adventurers which it niards profent forth to conquer and desolate the New it. World, there were persons who retained some tincture of the Castilian generosity and honour. Though, before the trial of Atahualpa, Ferdinand Pizarro had fet out for Spain, and Soto was fent on a separate command at a distance from Caxamalca, this odious transaction was not carried on without censure and opposition. Several officers, and among those some of the greatest reputation and most respectable families in the service, not only remonstrated, but protested against this measure of their general, as disgraceful to their country, as repugnant to every maxim of equity, as a violation of public faith, and an usurpation of jurisdiction over an independent monarch, to which they had no title. But their endeavours were vain. Numbers, and the opinion of fuch as held every thing to be lawful which they

n Zarate, lib. ii. c. 7. Xerez, p. 233. Vega, p. 11. lib. i. c. 36, 37. Gomara Hist. c. 117. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4.

BOOK they deemed advantageous, prevailed. History, however, records even the unfuccessful exertions of virtue with applause; and the Spanish writers, 1533. in relating events where the valour of their nation is more conspicuous than its humanity, have not failed to preserve the names of those who made this laudable effort to fave their country from the infamy of having perpetrated such a crime .

Diffolution ment and

On the death of Atahualpa, Pizarro invested of govern- one of his fons with the enfigns of royalty, hoporder in Pe. ing that a young man without experience might prove a more passive instrument in his hands, than an ambitious monarch, who had been accustomed to independent command. The people of Cuzco, and the adjacent country, acknowledged Manco Capac, a brother of Huascar, as Incap. But neither possessed the authority which belonged to a fovereign of Peru. The violent convulsions into which the empire had been thrown, first by the civil war between the two brothers, and then by the invasion of the Spaniards, had not only deranged the order of the Peruvian government, but almost dissolved its frame. When they beheld their monarch a captive in the power of strangers, and at last suffering an ignominious death, the people in feveral provinces, as if they had been set free from every restraint of law and decency, broke out into the most licentious excesses q. So many descendants of the Sun, after being treated with the utmost indignity, had been cut off by Atahualpa, that not only their influence in the state diminished with their number, but the accustomed reverence for that sacred race sensibly decreased. In consequence of this state of things,

o Vega, p. 11. lib. i. c. 37. Xerez, i. 235. Herrera, dec. 5. lib.iii. c. 5.

p Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 7. 9 Herrera, dec. 5. lib. ii. c. 12. lib. iii. c. 5.

ambitious men in different parts of the empire BOOK aspired to independent authority, and usurped jurisdiction to which they had no title. The general who commanded for Atahualpa in Quito, feized the brother and children of his mafter, put them to a cruel death, and disclaiming any connection with either Inca, endeavoured to establish a separate kingdom for himself r.

1533-

THE Spaniards, with pleasure, beheld the Pizarro adspirit of discord diffusing itself, and the vigour of vances to government relaxing among the Peruvians. They confidered those disorders as symptoms of a state haftening towards its diffolution. Pizarro no longer helitated to advance towards Cuzco, and he had received such considerable reinforcements, that he could venture, with little danger, to penetrate so far into the interior part of the country. The account of the wealth acquired at Caxamalca, operated as he had foreseen. No sooner did his brother Ferdinand, with the officers and foldiers, to whom he had given their discharge after the partition of the Inca's ranfom, arrive at Panama, and display their riches in the view of their astonished countrymen, than fame spread the account with fuch exaggeration through all the Spanish settlements on the South Sea, that the governors of Guatimala, Panama, and Nicaragua, could hardly restrain the people under their jurisdiction, from abandoning their possessions, and crowding to that inexhaustible source of wealth which feemed to be opened in Perus. In spite of every check and regulation, fuch numbers reforted thither, that Pizarro began his march at the head

Zarate, lib. ii. c. 8. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 3, 4. Somara Hift. c. 125. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 1. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 5.

BOOK of five hundred men, after leaving a confiderable garrison in St. Michael, under the command of Benalcazar. The Peruvians had affembled fome large bodies of troops to oppose his progress. Several fierce encounters happened. But they terminated like all the actions in America; a few Spaniards were killed or wounded; the natives were put to flight with incredible flaughter. At length Pizarro forced his way to Cuzco, and took quiet possession of that capital. The riches found there, even after all that the natives had carried off and concealed, either from a superstitious veneration for the ornaments of their temples, or out of hatred for their rapacious conquerors, exceeded in value what had been received as Atahualpa's ransom. But as the Spaniards were now accustomed to the wealth of the country, and it came to be parcelled out among a greater number of adventurers, this dividend did not excite the same surprise either from novelty, or the largeness of the sum that fell to the share of each individual t.

> During the march to Cuzco, the fon of Atahualpa whom Pizarro treated as Inca, died, and as the Spaniards substituted no person in his place, the title of Manco Capac feems to have been univerfally recognized ".

Quito conquered by Benalcazar.

WHILE his fellow-foldiers were thus employed, Benalcazar, governor of St. Michael, an able and enterprifing officer, was ashamed of remaininginactive, and impatient to have his name diftinguished among the discoverors and conquerors of the New World. The seasonable arrival of a fresh body of recruits from Panama and Nicaragua, put it in his power to gratify this passion. Leaving

t See NOTE IX.

u Herrera, dec. 5. lib. v. c. 2.

Leaving a sufficient force to protect the infant set- BOOK tlement entrusted to his care, he placed himself at the head of the rest, and set out to attempt the reduction of Quito, where according to the report of the natives. Atahualpa had left the greatest part of his treasure. Notwithstanding the vast dis--tance of that city from St. Michael, the difficulty of marching through a mountainous country covered with woods, and the frequent and fierce attacks of the best troops in Peru, commanded by a skilful leader, the valour, good conduct, and perseverance of Benalcazar surmounted every obstacle, and he entered Quito with his victorious troops. But they met with a cruel mortification The natives, now acquainted to their there. forrow, with the predominant passion of their invaders, and knowing how to disappoint it, had carried off all those treasures, the prospect of which had prompted them to undertake this arduous expedition, and had supported them under all the dangers and hardships wherewith they had to struggle in carrying it on x.

BENALCAZAR was not the only Spanish lead-Alvarado's er who attacked the kingdom of Quito. fame of its riches attracted a more powerful enemy. Pedro de Alvarado, who had diffinguished himself so eminently in the conquest of Mexico. having obtained the government of Guatimala as a recompence for his valour, foon became difgusted with a life of uniform tranquillity, and longed to be again engaged in the buftle of military fervice. The glory and wealth acquired by the conquerors of Peru heightened this passion, and gave it a determined direction. Believing. or pretending to believe, that the kingdom of Quito

* Zarate, lib. ii. c. 9. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 9. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 11, 12. lib. v. c. 2, 3. lib. vi. c. 3.

BOOK Quito did not lie within the limits of the province allotted to Pizarro, he resolved to invade it. The high reputation of the commander allured volunteers from every quarter. He embarked with five hundred men, of whom above two hundred were of fuch distinction as to serve on horseback. He landed at Puerto Viejo, and without sufficient knowledge of the country, or proper guides to conduct him, attempted to march directly to Quito, by following the course of the river Guyaquil, and croffing the ridge of the Andes towards its head. But in this route, one of the most impracticable in all America, his troops endured fuch fatigue in forcing their way through forests and marshes on the low grounds, and suffered fo much from excessive cold when they began to ascend the mountains, that before they reached the plain of Quito, a fifth part of the men and half of their horses died, and the rest were so much dispirited and worn out, as to be almost unfit for fervice y. There they met with a body, not of Indians, but of Spaniards, drawn up in hostile array against them. Pizarro, having received an account of Alvarado's armament, had detached Almagro with fome troops to oppose this formidable invader of his jurisdiction; and these were joined by Benalcazar and his victorious party. Alvarado, though furprifed at the fight of enemies whom he did not expect, advanced boldly to the charge. But by the interpolition of some moderate men in each party, an amicable accommodation took place; and the fatal period, when Spaniards fuspended their conquests to embrue their hands in the blood of their countrymen, was postponed a few years. Alvarado engaged to return to his government, upon Almagro's paying

him a hundred thousand pesos, to defray the ex-BOOK pence of his armament. Most of his followers remained in the country; and an expedition, which threatened Pizarro and his colony with ruin, contributed to augment its strength?

By this time Ferdinand Pizarro had landed in Honours Spain. The immense quantities of gold and fil-conferred on Pizarro and ver which he imported a, filled the kingdom with Almagro. no less astonishment than they had excited in Panama and the adjacent provinces. Pizarro was received by the emperor with the attention due to the bearer of a present so rich as to exceed any idea which the Spaniards had formed concerning the value of their acquisitions in America, even after they had been ten years mafters of Mexico. In recompence of his brother's fervices, his authority was confirmed with new powers and privileges, and the addition of seventy leagues, extending along the coast, to the southward of the territory granted in his former patent. Almagro received the honours which he had so long defired. The Title of Adelantado, or governor was conferred upon him, with jurisdiction over two hundred leagues of country, firetching beyond the fouthern limits of the province allotted to Pizarro. Ferdinand himfelf did not go unrewarded. He was admitted into the military order of St. Jago, a distinction always acceptable to a Spanish

SOME

gentleman; and foon fet out on his return to Peru, accompanied by many persons of higher rank,

than had yet ferved in that country b.

² Zarate, lib. 2. c. 10—13. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 1, 2. 9, &c. Gomara Hift, c. 126, &c. Remefal. Hift. Guatimal. lib. iii. c 6. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 1, 2. 7, 8.

² See NOTE XI. b Zarate, lib. iii. c. 3. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 19. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 13.

Some account of his negociations reached Pe-

BOOK 1534 diffentions Almagro.

ru before he arrived there himself. Almagro no fooner learned that he had obtained the royal grant Beginning of of an independent government, than, pretending that Cuzco, the imperial residence of the Incas, lay within its boundaries, he attempted to render himself master of that important station. Juan and Gonzalez Pizarro prepared to oppose him. Each of the contending parties was supported by powerful adherents, and the dispute was on the point of being terminated by the fword, when Francis Pizarro arrived in the capi-The reconciliation between him and Almagro had never been cordial. The treachery of Pizarro in engroffing to himfelf all the honours and emoluments, which ought to have been divided with his affociate, was always present in both their thoughts. The one, conscious of his own perfidy. did not expect forgiveness; the other, feeling that he had been deceived, was impatient to be avengand though avarice and ambition had induced them not only to diffemble their fentiments, but even to act in concert while in pursuit of wealth and power, no fooner did they obtain poffession of these, than the same passions which had formed this temporary union, gave rife to jealoufy and discord. To each of them was attached a small band of interested dependents, who, with the malicious art, peculiar to fuch men, heightened their fuspicions, and magnified every appearance of offence. But with all those seeds of enmity in their minds, and thus affiduously cherished, each was fo thoroughly acquainted with the abilities and courage of his rival, that they equally dreaded the consequences of an open rupture. The fortunate arrival of Pizarro at Cuzco, and the address mingled with firmness, which he manifested in his expostulations with Almagro and his partizans, averted that evil for the present. A

new reconciliation took place; the chief article BOOK of which was, that Almagro should attempt the conquest of Chili; and if he did not find in that 1534. province an establishment adequate to his merit and expectations, Pizarro, by way of indemnification, should yield up to him a part of Peru. This new agreement was confirmed with the same facred folemnities as their first contract, and obferved with as little fidelity c.

Soon after he concluded this important trans- Regulations action, Pizarro marched back to the countries on of Pizarro. the fea coast, and as he now enjoyed an interval of tranquillity, undifturbed by any enemy, either Spanish or Indian, he applied himself with that persevering ardour, which distinguishes his character, to introduce a form of regular government, into the extensive provinces subject to his authority. Though ill qualified by his education to enter into any disquisition concerning the principles of civil policy, and little accustomed by his former habits of life to attend to its arrangements, his natural fagacity supplied the want both of science and experience. He distributed the country into various diffricts; he appointed proper magistrates to preside in each; and established regulations concerning the administration of justice, the collection of the royal revenue, the working of the mines, and the treatment of the Indians, extremely fimple but well calculated to promote the public prosperity. But, though, for the present, he adapted his plan to the infant state of his colony, his aspiring mind looked forward to its future grandeur. He confidered himself as Foundation laying the foundation of a great empire, and de-of Lima. liberated long, and with much folicitude, in what place he should fix the seat of government. Cuzco,

e Zarate, lib. ii. c. 13. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 19. Benzo, lib. iii. c. 6. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vii. c. 8.

BOOK the imperial city of the Incas, was fituated in a 1534-

1535.

corner of the empire, about four hundred miles from the sea, and much farther from Quito, a province of whose value he had formed an high idea. No other settlement of the Peruvians was so considerable as to merit the name of a town. or to allure the Spaniards to fix their residence in it. But, in marching through the country, Pizarro had been struck with the beauty and fertility. of the valley of Rimac, one of the most extensive and best cultivated in Peru. There, on the banks of a small river, of the same name with the vale which it waters and enriches, at the diffance of fix miles from Callao, the most commodious harbour in the Pacific Ocean, he founded a city which he destined to be the capital of his government. He gave it the name of Ciudad de los January 18. Reyes, either from the circumstance of having laid the first stone, at that season when the church celebrates the festival of the Three Kings, or, as is more probable, in honour of Juanna and Charles, the fovereigns of Castile. This name it still retains among the Spaniards, in all legal and formal deeds; but it is better known to foreigners by that of Lima, a corruption of the ancient appellation of the valley, in which it is fituated. Under his inspection, the buildings advanced with fuch rapidity, that it foon affumed the form of a city, which, by a magnificent palace that he erected for himself, and by the stately houses built by feveral of his officers, gave, even in its infancy, fome indication of its subsequent grandeurd.

In consequence of what had been agreed with Almagro invades Chili. Pizarro, Almagro began his march towards Chili; and as he possessed in an eminent degree the vir-

> d Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 12. lib. vii. c. 13. Calanche Coronica, lib. i. c. 37. Barnueuo, Lima fundada, ii. 294.

tues most admired by foldiers, boundless liberality BOOK and fearless courage, his standard was followed by five hundred and feventy men, the greatest body of Europeans that had hitherto been affembled in Peru. From impatience to finish the expedition, or from that contempt of hardship and danger acquired by all the Spaniards who had ferved long in America, Almagro, instead of advancing along the level country on the coast, chose to march across the mountains by a route that was shorter indeed, but almost impracticable. In this attempt his troops were exposed to every calamity which men can fuffer, from fatigue, from famine, and from the rigour of the climate in those elevated regions of the torrid zone, where the degree of cold is hardly inferior to what is felt within the polar circle. Many of them perished; and the furvivors, when they descended into the fertile plains of Chili, had new difficulties to encounter. They found there a race of men very different from the people of Peru, intrepid, hardy, independent, and their bodily constitution, as well as vigour of spirit, nearly resembling the warlike tribes in North America. Though filled with wonder at the first appearance of the Spaniards, and still more assonished at the operations of their cavalry and the effects of their fire-arms, the Chilese soon recovered so far from their surprise, as not only to defend themselves with obstinacy, but to attack their new enemies with more determined fierceness than any American nation had hitherto discovered. The Spaniards, however, continued to penetrate into the country, and collected some confiderable quantities of gold; but were fo far from thinking of making any fettlement amidst fuch formidable neighbours, that, in spite of all the experience and valour of their leader, the final iffue of the expedition still remained extremely dubious, when they were recalled from VOL. III.

BOOK it by an unexpected revolution in Peru. The VI. causes of this I shall endeavour to trace to their source.

An infurrection of the Peruvians.

So many adventurers had flocked to Peru from every Spanish colony in America, and all with fuch high expectations of accumulating independent fortunes at once, that, to men possessed with notions to extravagant, any mention of acquiring wealth gradually, and by schemes of patient industry, would have been not only a disappointment, but an infult. In order to find occupation for men who could not with fafety be allowed to remain inactive, Pizarro encouraged some of the most distinguished officers who had lately joined him, to invade different provinces of the empire, which the Spaniards had not hitherto visited. Several large bodies were formed for this purpose: and about the time that Almagro, let out for Chili. they marched into remote diffricts of the country. No fooner did Manco Capac, the Inca, observe the inconsiderate security of the Spaniards in thus dispersing their troops, and that only a handful of men remained in Cuzco, under Juan and Gonzalez Pizarro, than he thought that the happy period was at length come for vindicating his own rights, avenging the wrongs of his country, and extirpating its oppressors. Though strictly watched by the Spaniards, who allowed him to relide in the palace of his ancestors at Cuzco, he found means of communicating his scheme to the perfons who were entrusted with the execution of it. Among people accustomed to revere their sovereign as a divinity, every hint of his will carries the authority of a command; and they themfelves were now convinced, by the daily increase

Its rife,

c Zarate, lib. iii. c. 1. Gomara Hist. c. 131. Vega, p. 2. lib. ii. c. 20. Ovalle Hist. de Chile, lib. iv. c. 15, &c. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vii. c. 9. lib. x. c. 1, &c.

in the number of their invaders, that the fond BOOK hopes which they had long entertained of their voluntary departure were altogether vain. All perceived that a vigorous effort of the whole nation was requifite to expel them, and the preparations for it were carried on with the fecrecy and filence peculiar to Americans.

AFTER some unsuccessful attempts of the Inca and progress. to make his escape, Ferdinand Pizarro happening to arrive at that time in Cuzco, he obtained permission from him to attend a great festival which was to be celebrated a few leagues from the capital. Under pretext of that folemnity, the great men of the empire were affembled. As foon as the Inca joined them, the standard of war was erected; and in a short time all the fighting men, from the confines of Quito to the frontier of Chiliwere in arms. Many Spaniards, living fecurely on the fettlements allotted them, were massacred. Several detachments, as they marched carelessly through a country which feemed to be tamely fubmillive to their dominion, were cut off to a man. An army amounting (if we may believe the Spanish writers) to two hundred thousand men, attacked Cuzco, which the three brothers endeavoured to defend with only a hundred and feventy Spaniards. Another formidable body invested Lima, and kept the governor closely shut up. There was no longer any communication between the two cities; the numerous forces of the Peruvians spreading over the country, intercepted every messenger; and as the parties in Cuzco and Lima were equally unacquainted with the fate of their countrymen, each boded the worst concerning the other, and imagined that they themselves were the only persons who had survived the general extinction of the Spanish name in Perud.

Ir

d Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 28. Zarate, lib. iii. c. 3. Cieca de Leon, c. 82. Gomara Hift. c. 135. Herrera, dec. v. lib. viii. c. 5.

1536. Siege of Cuzco.

BOOK IT was at Cuzco, where the Inca commanded in person, that the Peruvians made their chief effort. During nine months they carried on the fiege with incessant ardour, and in various forms; and though they displayed not the same undaunted ferocity as the Mexican warriors, they conducted some of their operations in a manner which discovered greater fagacity, and a genius more fusceptible of improvement in the military art. They not only observed the advantages which the Spaniards derived from their discipline and their weapons, but they endeavoured to imitate the former, and turn the latter against them. They armed a confiderable body of their bravest warriors with the fwords, the spears, and bucklers, which they had taken from the Spanish foldiers whom they had cut off in different parts of the These they endeavoured to marshal in that regular compact order, to which experience had taught them that the Spaniards were indebted for their irreliftible force in action. Some appeared in the field with Spanish muskets, and had acouired skill and resolution enough to use them. A few of the boldest, among whom was the Inca himself, were mounted on the horses which they had taken, and advanced briskly to the charge like Spanish cavaliers, with their lances in the rest. It was more by their numbers, however, than by those imperfect essays to imitate European arts, and employ European arms, that the Peruvians annoyed the Spaniards. In spite of the valour. heightened by despair, with which the three bro-thers defended Cuzco, Manco Capac recovered possession of one half of his capital; and before the Spaniards could drive him out of it, they loft Juan Pizarro, the best beloved of all the brothers, together with some other persons of note. Worn out with

the fatigue of incessant duty, distressed with want of BOOK provisions, and despairing of being able any longer to resist an enemy whose numbers daily increased, the foldiers became impatient to abandon Cuzco, in hopes either of joining their countrymen, if any of them yet survived, or of forcing their way to the fea, and finding some means of efcaping from a country which had been to fatal to the Spanish names. While they were brooding over those desponding thoughts, which their officers laboured in vain to dispel, Almagro appeared fuddenly in the neighbourhood of Cuzco.

THE accounts transmitted to Almagro concern- Arrival of ing the general infurrection of the Peruvians, Almagro, were fuch as would have induced him, without hesitation, to relinquish the conquest of Chili, and hasten to the aid of his countrymen. But in and motives this resolution he was confirmed by a motive less of his congenerous, but more interesting. By the same messenger who brought him intelligence of the Inca's revolt, he received the royal patent creating him governor of Chili, and defining the limits of his jurisdiction. Upon considering the tenor of it, he deemed it manifest beyond contradiction, that Cuzco lay within the boundaries of his government, and he was equally folicitous to prevent the Peruvians from recovering possession of their capital, and to wrest it out of the hands of the Pizarros. From impatience to accomplish both, he ventured to return by a new route; and in marching through the fandy plains of the coast, he fuffered, from heat and drought, calamities of a new species, hardly inferior to those in which he had been involved by cold and famine on the summits of the Andes.

BOOK

His arrival at Cuzco was in a critical moment. The Spaniards and Peruvians fixed their eyes upon him with equal folicitude. The former, as he His operati- did not study to conceal his pretensions, were at a loss whether to welcome him as a deliverer, or to take precautions against him as an enemy. The latter, knowing the points in contest between him and his countrymen, flattered themselves that they had more to hope than to dread from his operati-Almagro himself, unacquainted with the detail of the events which had happened in his abfence, and folicitous to learn the precise posture of affairs, advanced towards the capital flowly, and with great circumspection. Various negociations with both parties were fet on foot. Inca conducted them on his part with much address. At first he endeavoured to gain the friendship of Almagro; and after many fruitless overtures, despairing of any cordial union with a Spaniard, he attacked him by furprise with a numerous body of chosen troops. But the Spanish discipline and valour maintained their wonted fuperiority. The Peruvians were repulfed with fuch flaughter, that a great part of their army dispersed, and Almagro proceeded to the gates of Cuzco without interruption.

Takes poffeffion of Cuzco.

THE Pizarros, as they had no longer to make head against the Peruvians, directed all their attention towards their new enemy, and took meafures to obstruct his entry into the capital. Prudence, however, restrained both parties for some time from turning their arms against one another, while furrounded by common enemies, who would rejoice in the mutual flaughter. Different schemes of accommodation were proposed. Each endeavoured to deceive the other, or to corrupt his followers. The generous, open, affable temper of Almagro gained many adherents of the Pizarros.

Pizarros, who were difgusted with their harsh do- BOOK mineering manners. Encouraged by this defection, he advanced towards the city by night, furprifed the centinels, or was admitted by them, and invefting the house where the two brothers refided, compelled them, after an obstinate defence, to furrender at discretion. Almagro's claim of jurisdiction over Cuzco was universally acknowledged, and a form of administration established in his name .

1537-

Two or three persons only were killed in this Civil war, first act of civil hostility; but it was soon follow- and first suced by scenes more bloody. Francis Pizarro hav- magro; ing dispersed the Peruvians who had invested Lima, and received fome confiderable reinforcements from Hispaniola and Nicaragua, ordered five hundred men, under the command of Alonso de Alvarado, to march to Cuzco, in hopes of relieving his brothers, if they and their garrison were not already cut off by the Peruvians. body, which, in the infancy of the Spanish power in America, must be deemed a confiderable force, advanced near to the capital before they knew that they had any enemy more formidable than Indians to encounter. It was with aftonishment that they beheld their countrymen posted on the banks of the river Abancay to oppose their progress. Almagro, however, wished rather to gain than to conquer them, and by bribes and promifes endeavoured to feduce their leader. The fidelity of Alvarado remained unshaken; but his talents for war were not equal to his virtue. Almagro amused him with various movements, of which he did not comprehend the meaning, while a large July 12. detach-

g Zarate, lib iii. c. 4. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 29, 31. Gomara Hift. c. 134. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. ii. c. 1-5.

VI. but does not improve his advantages.

BOOK detachment of chosen foldiers passed the river by night, fell upon his camp by furprise, broke his troops before they had time to form, and took him prisoner, together with his principal officers h.

> By the fudden route of this body, the contest between the two rivals must have been decided. if Almagro had known as well how to improve as how to gain a victory. Rodrigo Orgognez, an officer of great abilities, who having ferved under the constable Bourbon, when he led the imperial army to Rome, had been accustomed to bold and decifive counsels, advised him instantly to iffue orders for putting to death Ferdinand and Gonzola Pizarros, Alvarado, and a few other perfons whom he could not hope to gain, and to march directly with his victorious troops to Lima, before the governor had time to prepare for his defence. But Almagro, though he discerned at once the utility of the counsel, and had courage to have carried it into execution, fuffered himself to be influenced by sentiments unlike those of a soldier of fortune grown old in service, and by scruples which suited not the chief of a party who had drawn his fword in civil war. Feelings of humanity restrained him from shedding the blood of his opponents; and the dread of being deemed a rebel deterred him from entering a province which the king had allotted to another. Though he knew that arms must terminate the. dispute between him and Pizarro, and resolved not to shun that mode of decision, yet, with a timid delicacy preposterous at such a juncture, he was fo folicitous that his rival should be considered

h Zarate, lib. iii. c. 6. Gom. Hist. c. 138. Vega, p. 11, lib. ii. c. 33, 34. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. ii. c. 9.

dered as the agressor, that he marched quietly BOOK back to Cuzco, to wait his approach i.

PIZARRO was still unacquainted with all the in- 1537teresting events that had happened near Cuzco. Pizarro. The account of Almagro's return, of the loss of the capital, of the death of one brother, of the imprisonment of the other two, and of the defeat Alvarado, were brought to him at once. Such a tide of misfortunes almost overwhelmed a spirit which had continued firm and erect under the rudest shocks of adversity. But the necessity of attending to his own safety, as well as the defire of revenge, preserved him from finking under it. He took measures for both with his wonted fagacity. As he had the command His artful of the sea-coast, and expected considerable sup-conduct. plies both of men and of military stores, it was no less his interest to gain time, and to avoid action, than it was that of Almagro to precipitate operations, and bring the contest to a speedy He had recourfe to arts which he had formerly practifed with fuccefs, and Almagro was again weak enough to fuffer himself to be amused with a prospect of terminating their differences By varying by fome amicable accommodation. his overtures, and shifting his ground as often as it fuited his purpose, sometimes seeming to yield every thing that his rival could defire, and then retracting all that he had granted, Pizarro dexteroufly protracted the negociation to fuch a length, that though every day was precious to Almagro, feveral months elapfed without coming to any final agreement. While the attention of Almagro, and of the officers with whom he confulted, was occupied in detecting and eluding the fraudulent intentions of the governor, Gonzola Pizarro and Alvarado found means to corrupt the foldiers to whofe

1537-

BOOK whose custody they were committed, and not only made their escape themselves, but persuaded fixty of the men who formerly guarded them to accompany their flight . Fortune having thus delivered one of his brothers, the governor fcrupled not at one act of perfidy more to procure the release of the other. He proposed, that every point in controverly between Almagro and himfelf should be submitted to the decision of their fovereign; that until his award was known, each should retain undisturbed possession of whatever part of the country he now occupied; that Ferdinand Pizarro should be set at liberty, and return instantly to Spain, together with the officers. whom Almagro purposed to fend thither to reprefent the justice of his claims. Obvious as the defign of Pizarro was in those propositions, and familiar as his artifices might now have been to his opponent, Almagro, with a credulity approaching to infatuation, relied on his fincerity, and concluded an agreement on these terms!.

His preparations for

THE moment that Ferdinand Pizarro recovered his liberty, the governor, no longer fettered in his operations by anxiety about his brother's life, threw off every difguise which his concern for it had obliged him to affume. The treaty was forgotten; pacific and conciliating measures were no more mentioned; it was in the field, he openly declared, and not in the cabinet; by arms, and not by negociation; that it must now be determined who should be master of Peru. The rapidity of his preparations fuited fuch a decifive refolution. Seven hundred men were foon ready to 1538. march towards Cuzco. The command of these

k Zarate, lib. îii. c. 8. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. ii. c. 14. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. iii. c. 9. Zarate, lib. iii. c. 9. Gomata Hist. c. 140. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 35.

was given to his two brothers, in whom he could BOOK perfectly confide for the execution of his most violent schemes, as they were urged on not only by the enmity flowing from family rivalship, but animated with the defire of vengeance, excited by recollection of their recent diffrace and fufferings. After an unsuccessful attempt to cross the mountains in the direct road between Lima and Cuzco. they marched towards the fouth along the coast as far as Nasca, and then turning to the left, penetrated through the defiles in that branch of the Andes which lay between them and the capital. Almagro, instead of hearkening to some of his officers, who advised him to attempt the defence of those difficult passes, waited the approach of the enemy in the plain of Cuzco. Two reafons feem to have induced him to take this refolution. His followers amounted hardly to five hundred, and he was afraid of weakening fuch a feeble body, by fending any detachment towards the mountains. His cavalry far exceeded that of the adverse party, both in number and discipline and it was only in an open country that he could avail himself of that advantage.

THE Pizarros advanced without any obstruc-His army tion, but what arose from the nature of the desert marches to and horrid regions through which they marched. As foon as they reached the plain, both factions were equally impatient to bring this long-protracted contest to an issue. Though countrymen. and friends, the subjects of the same sovereign, and each with the royal flandard displayed; and though they heheld the mountains that furrounded the plain in which they were drawn up covered with a vast multitude of Indians, assembled to enjoy the spectacle of their mutual carnage, and prepared to attack whatever party remained mafter of the field; fo fell and implacable was the rancour

VI. 1538.

BOOK rancour which had taken possession of every breast, that not one pacific counsel, not a fingle overture towards accommodation proceeded from either fide. Unfortunately for Almagro, he was fo worn out with the fatigues of fervice, to which his advanced age was unequal, that, at this crifis of his fate, he could not exert his wonted activity; and he was obliged to commit the leading of his troops to Orgognez, who, though an officer of great merit, did not possess the same ascendant either over the spirit or affections of the soldiers, as the chief whom they had long been accustomed to follow and revere.

April 26. Almagro defeated,

THE conflict was fierce, and maintained by each party with equal courage. On the fide of Almagro, were more veteran foldiers, and a larger proportion of cavalry; but these were counterbalanced by Pizarro's fuperiority in numbers, and by two companies of well-disciplined musketeers, which, on receiving an account of the infurrection of the Indians, the emperor had fent from Spain m. As the use of fire-arms was not frequent among the adventurers in American, haftily equipped for fervice, at their own expence, this small band of foldiers, regularly trained and armed, was a novelty in Peru, and decided the fate of the day: Wherever it advanced, the weight of a heavy and well-fuftained fire bore down horse and foot before it; and Orgognez, while he endeavoured to rally and animate his troops, having received a dangerous wound, the rout became general. barbarity of the conquerors stained the glory which they acquired by this complete victory. The violence of civil rage hurried on some to slaughter their countrymen with indifcriminate cruelty; the meannels of private revenge instigated others to fingle out individuals as the objects

m Herrera, dec. 6. lib. iii, c. 8.

n Zarate, lib. iii. c. 8.

of their vengeance. Orgognez and several officers BOOK of diffinction were maffacred in cold blood; above a hundred and forty foldiers fell in the field; a 1538. large proportion, where the number of combatants was few, and the heat of the contest soon over. Almagro, though fo feeble that he could not bear the motion of a horse, had insisted on being carried in a litter to an eminence which overlooked the field of battle. From thence, in the utmost agitation of mind, he viewed the various movements of both parties, and at last beheld the total defeat of his own troops, with all the passionate indignation of a veteran leader long accustomed to victory. He endeavoured to fave himself by and taken. flight, but was taken prisoner, and guarded with the strictest vigilance.

THE Indians, instead of executing the resolution which they had formed, retired quietly after the battle was over; and in the history of the New World, there is not a more striking instance of the wonderful ascendant which the Spaniards had acquired over its inhabitants, than that after seeing one of the contending parties ruined and dispersed, and the other weakened and fatigued, they had not courage to fall upon their enemies, when fortune presented an opportunity of attacking them with such advantage?

Cuzco was pillaged by the victorious troops, New expewho found there a confiderable booty, confifting ditions. partly of the gleanings of the Indian treasures, and partly of the wealth amassed by their antagonists from the spoils of Peru and Chili. But so far did

o Zarate, lib. iii. c. 11, 12. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 36—38. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. iii. c. 10—12. lib. iv. c. 1—6. P Zarate, lib. iii. c. 11. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 38.

BOOK did this, and whatever the bounty of their leader could add to it, fall below the high ideas of the recompence which they conceived to be due to their merit, that Ferdinand Pizarro, unable to gratify fuch extravagant expectations, had recourse to the fame expedient which his brother had employed on a fimilar occasion, and endeavoured to find occupation for this turbulent affuming spirit, in order to prevent it from breaking out into open mutiny. With this view, he encouraged his most active officers to attempt the discovery and reduction of various provinces which had not hitherto submitted to the Spaniards. To every flandard erected by the leaders who undertook any of those new expeditions, volunteers resorted with the ardour and hope peculiar to the age. Several of Almagro's foldiers joined them; and thus Pizarro had the fatisfaction of being delivered both from the importunity of his discontented friends, and the dread of his ancient enemies 4.

Almagro tried,

ALMAGRO himself remained for several months in cuftody, under all the anguish of suspence. For although his doorn was determined by the Pizarros from the moment that he fell into their hands, prudence confirmined them to defer gratifying their vengeance, until the foldiers who had ferved under him, as well as feveral of their own followers in whom they could not perfectly confide, had left Cuzco. As foon as they fet out upon their different expeditions, Almagro was impeached of treason, formally tried, and concondemned, demned to die. The fentence aftonished him; and though he had often braved death with an undaunted spirit in the field, its approach, under this ignominious form, appalled him fo much, that he had recourse to abject supplications. unworthy

> 9 Zarate, lib. iii. c. 12. Gom. Hift. c. 141. Herrera, dec. 6, lib. iv. c. 7.

tions, unworthy of his former fame. He befought BOOK the Pizarros to remember the ancient friendship between their brother and him, and how much 1538. he had contributed to the faccess and prosperity of their family; he reminded them of the humanity with which, in opposition to the repeated remonfrances of his own most attached friends, he had spared their lives when he had them in his power; he conjured them to pity his age and infirmities, and to fuffer him to pass the wretched remainder of his days in bewaiting his crimes, and in making his peace with Heaven. The intreaties, fays a Spanish historian, of a man so much beloved, touched many in unfeeling heart, and drew tears from many a hard eye. But the brothers remained inflexible. As foon as Almagro knew his fate to be inevitable, he met it with the dignity and fortitude of a veteran. He was strangled in prison, and put to and afterwards publicly beheaded. He fuffered in death. the seventy-fifth year of his age, and left one fon by an Indian woman of Panama, whom, though at that time a prisoner in Lima, he named as fucceffor to his government, pursuant to a power which the emperor had granted him .

As, during the civil dissensions of Peru, all in- 1539. tercourse with Spain was suspended, the detail of Deliberations of the extraordinary transactions there did not soon court of reach the court. Unfortunately for the victorious Spain contaction, the first intelligence was brought thitherstate of by some of Almagro's officers, who left the country upon the ruin of their cause; and they related what had happened, with every circumstance unfavourable to Pizarro and his brothers. Their ambition, their breach of the most solemn engagements, their violence and cruelty, were painted with

r Zarate, lib. iii. c. 12. Gom. Hist. c. 141. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 39. Herrara, dec. 6. lib. iv. c. 9. lib. v. c. 1.

BOOK with all the malignity and exaggeration of party hatred. Ferdinand Pizarro, who arrived foon after, and appeared in court with extraordinary fplendor, endeavoured to efface the impression which their accusations had made, and to justify his brother and himself, by representing Almagro as the aggressor. The emperor and his ministers, though they could not pronounce which of the contending factions was most criminal, clearly discerned the fatal tendency of their dissensions. It was obvious, that while the leaders, entrusted with the conduct of two infant colonies, employed the arms which should have been turned against the common enemy, in destroying one another, all attention to the public good must cease; and there was reason to dread that the Indians might improve the advantage which their difunion prefented to them, and extirpate both the victors and the vanquished. But the evil was more apparent than the remedy. Where the information which had been received was so defective and suspicious, and the scene of action so remote, it was almost impossible to chalk out the line of conduct that ought to be followed; and before any plan that should be approved of in Spain could be carried into execution, the fituation of the parties, and the circumstances of affairs, might alter so entirely as to render its effects extremely pernici-

ftro fent thi-

ous.

Vaca de Ca- Nothing therefore remained but to fend a person to Peru, vested with extensive and discreample pow- tionary power, who, after viewing deliberately the posture of affairs with his own eyes, and enquiring upon the spot, into the conduct of the different leaders, should be authorised to establish the government in that form which he deemed most conducive to the interest of the parent state, and the welfare of the colony. The man felected

1539.

for this important charge was Christoval Vaca de BOOK Castro, a judge in the court of royal audience at Valladolid; and his abilities, integrity, and firmhels, justified the choice. His instructions, though ample, were not fuch as to fetter him in his operations. According to the different aspect of affairs, he had power to take upon him different characters. If he found the governor still alive, he was to assume only the title of judge, to maintain the appearance of acting in concert with him. and to guard against giving any just cause of offence to a man who had merited fo highly of his country. But if Pizarro was dead, he was entrusted with a commission, that he might then produce, by which he was appointed his successor in the government of Peru. This attention to Pizarro, however, feems to have flowed rather from dread of his power, than from any approbation of his measures; for at the very time that the court feemed fo folicitous not to irritate him, his brother Ferdinand was arrested at Madrid, and confined to a prison, where he remained above twenty years .

WHILE Vaca de Castro was preparing for his voyage, events of great moment happened in Per Pizarro diru. The governor, confidering himself, upon the among his death of Almagro, as the unrivalled possessor of followers that vast empire, proceeded to parcel out its territories among the conquerors; and had this divifion been made with any degree of impartiality, the extent of country which he had to bestow was fufficient to have gratified his friends, and to have gained his enemies. But Pizarro conducted this transaction not with the equity and candour of a judge, attentive to discover and to reward merit,

version in lib. Hi. c. in Herrora, det. 6 lib. elli ce c

⁶ Gomara Hift. c. 142. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 40. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. viii. c. 10, 11. lib. x. c. 1.

1540.

BOOK but with the illiberal spirit of a party leader. Large districts, in parts of the country most cultivated and populous, were fet apart as his own property, or granted to his brothers, his adherents and favourites. To others, lots less valuable and inviting were affigned. The followers of Almagro, amongst whom were many of the original adventurers, to whose valour and perseverance Pizarro was indebted for his fuccess, were totally excluded from any portion in those lands, towards the acquisition of which they had contributed fo largely. As the vanity of every individual fet an immoderate value upon his own services, and the idea of each, concerning the recompence due to them, rofe gradually to a more exorbitant height in proportion as their conquests extended, all who were disappointed in their expectations, exclaimed loudly against the rapaciousness and partiality of the governor. The partisans of Almagro murmured in secret, and meditated revenge t.

Progress of the Spanish arms.

RAPID as the progress of the Spaniards in South America had been fince Pizarro landed in Perutheir avidity of dominion was not yet fatisfied. The officers to whom Ferdinand Pizarro gave the command of different detachments, penetrated into feveral new provinces, and though fome of them were exposed to great hardships in the cold and barren regions of the Andes, and others fuffered diffress not inferior amidst the woods and marshes of the plains, they made discoveries and conquests which extended their knowledge of the country as well as added to their power. Pedrode Valdivia re-assumed Almagro's scheme of invading Chili, and, notwithstanding the fortitude of the natives in defending their possessions, made fuch progress in the conquest of the country, that he founded the city of St. Jago, and gave a beginning to the establishment of the Spanish do-

t Vega, p. 11. lib.iii. c. 2. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. viii. c. 5.

minion there ". But of all the enterprises under-BOOK taken about this period, that of Gonzalo Pizarro VI. was the most remarkable. The governor, who feems to have refolved that no person in Peru Remarkable should possess any station of distinguished emi-expedition nence or authority but those of his own family, Pizarro. had deprived Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, of his command in that kingdom, and appointed his brother Gonzalo to take the government of it. He instructed him to attempt the discovery and conquest of the country to the east of the Andes. which, according to the information of the Indians, abounded with cinnamon and other valuable spices. Gonzalo, not inferior to any of his brothers in courage, and no less ambitious of acquiring distinction, eagerly engaged in this difficult service. He set out from Quito at the head of three hundred and forty foldiers, near one half of whom were horsemen, with four thousand Indians to carry their provisions. In forcing their way through the defiles, or over the ridges of the Andes, excess of cold and fatigue, to neither of which they were accustomed, proved fatal to the greater part of the wretched attendants. The Hardships Spaniards, though more robust, and inured to a they endure. variety of climates, fuffered confiderably, and loft fome men; but when they descended into the low country, their diffress encreased. During two months it rained inceffantly, without any interval of fair weather long enough to dry their cloaths *. The vast plains upon which they were now entering, either altogether without inhabitants, or occupied by the rudest and least industrious tribes in the New World, yielded little fubfiftence. They could not advance a step but as they cut a road through woods, or made it through marshes. Such incessant toil, and continual scar-F 2

X Zarate, lib. iv. c. 2.

u Zarate, lib. iii. c. 13. Ovalle, lib. ii. c. 1, &c.

BOOK city of food, feem more than fufficient to have exhausted and dispirited any troops. But the for-1540.

titude and perseverance of the Spaniards in the fixteenth century were insuperable. Allured by frequent but false accounts of rich countries before them, they perfifted in struggling on, until they reached the banks of the Coca or Napo, one of the large rivers whose waters pour into the Maragnon, and contribute to its grandeur. There, with infinite labour, they built a bark, which they expected would prove of great utility, both in conveying them over rivers, in procuring provifions, and in exploring the country. This was manned with fifty foldiers, under the command of Francis Orellana, the officer next in rank to Pizarro. The stream carried them down with fuch rapidity, that they were foon far a-head of their countrymen, who followed flowly and with difficulty by land.

Deferted by Orellana.

AT this distance from his commander. Orellana, a young man of an aspiring mind, began to fancy himself independent, and, transported with the predominant passion of the age, he formed the scheme of distinguishing himself as a discoverer, by following the course of the Maragnon, until it joined the ocean, and by furveying the vast regions through which it flows. This scheme of Orellana's was as bold as it was treacherous. For, if he be chargeable with the guilt of having violated his duty to his commander, and with having abandoned his fellow-foldiers in a pathless defert, where they had hardly any hopes of fuccess, or even of safety, but what were founded on the service which they expected from the bark, his crime is, in fome measure, balanced by the glory of having ventured, upon a navigation of near two thousand leagues, through unknown nations, in a vessel hastily constructed with green timber. timber, and by very unskilful hands, without pro-BOOK visions, without a compass, or a pilot. But his courage and alacrity supplied every defect. Committing himself fearlessly to the guidance of sails down the stream, the Napo bore him along to the fouth, the Maraguntil he reached the great channel of the Maragnon. Turning with it towards the coast, he held on his course in that direction. He made frequent descents on both sides of the river, sometimes seizing by force of arms the provisions of the fierce favages feated on its banks, and fometimes procuring a supply of food by a friendly intercourse with more gentle tribes. After a long feries of dangers, which he encountered with amazing fortitude, and of distresses which he supported with no less magnanimity, he reached the ocean . where new perils awaited him. These he likewise furmounted, and got fafe to the Spanish settlement in the island Cubagua; from thence he failed to Spain. The vanity natural to travellers who vifit regions unknown to the rest of mankind. and the art of an adventurer, folicitous to magnify his own merit, concurred in prompting him to mingle an extraordinary proportion of the marvellous in the narrative of his voyage. He pretended to have discovered nations so rich, that the roofs of their temples were covered with plates of gold; and described a republic of women so warlike and powerful, as to have extended their dominion over a considerable tract of the fertile plains which he had visited. Extravagant as those tales were, they gave rife to an opinion, that a region abounding with gold, diftinguished by the name of El Dorado, and a community of Amazons. were to be found in this part of the New World: and fuch is the propenfity of mankind to believe what is wonderful, that it has been flowly, and

even when stripped of every romantic embellishment, deserves to be recorded, not only as one of the most memorable occurrences in that adventrous age, but as the first event that led to any certain knowledge of those immense regions that stretch eastward from the Andes to the ocean.

Diftress of

No words can describe the consternation of Pizarro, when he did not find the bark at the confluence of the Napo and Maragnon, where he had ordered Orellana to wait for him. He would not allow himself to suspect that a man, whom he had entrusted with such an important command, could be so base and so unfeeling, as to desert him at fuch a juncture. But imputing his absence from the place of rendezvous to some unknown accident, he advanced about fifty leagues along the banks of the Maragnon, expecting every moment to see the bark appear with a supply of provisions. At length he came up with an officer whom Orellana had left to perish in the desert, because he had the courage to remonstrate against his perfidy. From him he learned the extent of Orellana's crime; and his followers perceived at once their own desperate situation, when deprived of their only resource. The spirit of the stoutest hearted veteran funk within him, and all demanded to be led back inftantly. Pizarro, though he affumed an appearance of tranquillity, did not oppose their inclination. But he was now twelve hundred miles from Quito; and in that long march the Spaniards encountered hardships greater than those they had endured in their progress outward, without the alluring hopes which then foothed

1541.

y Zarate, lib. iv. c. 4. Gomara Hist, c. 86. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 4. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. ix. c. 2,—5. Rodriguez El Maragnon y Amazonas, lib. i. c. 3.

and animated them under their fufferings. Hun-BOOK ger compelled them to feed on roots and berries, VI. to eat all their dogs and horses, to devour the most loathsome reptiles, and even to gnaw the leather of their faddles and fword-belts. Four thousand Indians, and two hundred and ten Spaniards, perished in this wild difastrous expedition, which continued near two years; and as fifty men were aboard the bark with Orellana, only fourfcore got back to Quito. These were naked like favages, and fo emaciated with famine, or worn out with fatigue, that they had more the appearance of spectres than of men z.

Bur, instead of returning to enjoy the repose Number of which his condition required, Pizarro, on entering in Peru. Quito, received accounts of a fatal event that threatened calamities more dreadful to him, than those through which he had passed. From the time that his brother made that partial division of his conquests which has been mentioned, the adherents of Almagro, confidering themselves as proscribed by the party in power, no longer entertained any hope of bettering their condition. Great numbers in despair resorted to Lima, where the house of young Almagro was always open to them, and the slender portion of his father's fortune, which the governor allowed him to enjoy, was spent in affording them sublistence. The warm attachment with which every person who ferved under the elder Almagro devoted himfelf to his interests, was quickly transferred to his son, who was now grown up to the age of manhood. and possessed all the qualities which captivate the

* See NOTE XIV.

² Zarate, lib. iv. c. 2—5. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 3, 4, 5, 14. Herrera, dec. vi. lib. viii. c. 7, 8. lib. ix. c. 2—5 dec. vii. lib. iii. c. 14. Pizar. Varones Illustr. 349, &c.

BOOK affections of foldiers. Of a graceful appearance,

I 541 gro as their

leader.

of Pizarro,

dextrous at all martial exercises, bold, open, generous, he seemed to be formed for command; and as his father, conscious of his own inferiority young Alma- from the total want of education, had been extremely attentive to have him instructed in every fcience becoming a gentleman; the accomplishments which he had acquired, heightened the respect of his followers, as they gave him distinction and eminence among illiterate adventurers. In this young man the Almagrians found a point of union which they wanted, and looking up to him as their head, were ready to undertake any thing for his advancement. Nor was affection for Almagro their only incitement; they were urged on by their own distresses. Many of them, destitute of common necessaries a, and weary of loitering away life, a burden to their chief, or to fuch of their affociates as had faved fome remnant of their fortune from pillage and confiscation, longed impatiently for an occasion to exert their activity and courage, and began to deliberate how they might be avenged on the author of all their mifery. Their frequent cabals did not pass unobserved; Conspire against the life and the governor was warned to be on his guard against men who meditated some desperate deed, and had resolution to execute it. But either from the native intrepidity of his mind, or from contempt of persons whose poverty rendered their machinations of little consequence, he disregarded the admonitions of his friends. " Be in no pain, said he carelessly, about my life; it is perfectly fafe, as long as every man in Peru knows that I can in a moment put him to death who dares to harbour a thought against it." This security gave the Almagrians full leifure to digeft and ripen every part of their scheme; and Juan

2 See NOTE XIV.

de Herrada, an officer of great abilities, who had BOOK the charge of Almagro's education, took the lead in their confultations, with all the zeal which that connection inspired, and with all the authority which the ascendant that he was known to have over the mind of his pupil gave him,

On Sunday, the twenty-fixth of June, at mid-and kill him. day, the feafon of tranquillity and repose in all fultry climates, Herrada, at the head of eighteen of the most determined conspirators, sallied out of Almagro's house in complete armour; and drawing their fwords, as they advanced haftily towards the governor's palace, cried out, "Long live the king, but let the tyrant die." Their affociates, warned of their motions by a fignal. were in arms at different flations ready to support them. Though Pizarro was usually surrounded by fuch a numerous train of attendants as fuited the magnificence of the most opulent subject of the age in which he lived, yet as he was just risen from table, and most of his own domestics had retired to their own apartments, the conspirators passed through the two outer courts of the palace unobserved. They were at the bottom of the stair-case, before a page in waiting could give the alarm to his mafter, who was converfing with a few friends in a large hall. The governor, whose fleady mind no form of danger could appal, starting up, called for arms, and commanded Francisco de Chaves to make fast the door. But that officer, who did not retain so much presence of mind as to obey this prudent order, running to the top of the flair-case, wildly asked the conspirators what they meant, and whither they were going? Instead of answering, they stabbed him to the heart, and burst into the hall. Some of the persons who were there threw themselves from the windows; others attempted to fly; and a few drawing

BOOK drawing their swords, followed their leader into an inner apartment. The conspirators, animated with having the object of their vengeance now in view, rushed forwards after them. Pizarro, with no other arms than his fword and buckler, defended the entry, and supported by his half-brother Alcantara, and his little knot of friends, he maintained the unequal contest with intrepidity worthy of his past exploits, and with the vigour of a youthful combatant. "Courage, cried he, companions, we are yet enow to make those traitors repent of their audacity." But the armour of the conspirators protected them, while every thrust they made took effect. Alcantara fell dead at his brother's feet; his other defendants were mortally wounded. The governor, so weary that he could hardly wield his fword, and no longer able to parry the many weapons furiously aimed at him, received a deadly thrust full in his throat, funk to the ground, and expired,

Almagroscas his fucceffor.

As foon as he was flain, the affaffins ran out knowledged into the streets, and waving their bloody swords, proclaimed the death of the tyrant. Above two hundred of their affociates having joined them, they conducted young Almagro in folemn procession through the city, and assembling the magistrates and principal citizens, compelled them to acknowledge him as lawful fuccessor to his father in his government. The palace of Pizarro, together with the houses of several of his adherents, were pillaged by the foldiers, who had the fatisfaction at once of being avenged on their enemies, and of enriching themselves by the spoils of those through whose hands all the wealth of Peru had paffed b.

THE

b Zarate, lib. iv. c. 6—8. Gomara Hist. c. 144, 145. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 5—7. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. x. c. 4—7. Pia zarro Var. Illust. p. 183.

THE boldness and success of the conspiracy, as BOOK well as the name and popular qualities of Almagro, drew many foldiers to his standard. Every adventurer of desperate fortune, all who were dif- New apfatisfied with Pizarro, and, from the rapacious-pearances of ness of his government in the latter years of his life, the number of malcontents was confiderable, they declared without hesitation, in favour of Almagro, and he was foon at the head of eight hundred of the most gallant veterans in Peru. As his youth and inexperience disqualified him from taking the command of them himself, he appointed Herrada to act as general. But though Almagro speedily collected such a respectable force, the acquiescence in his government was far from being general. Pizarro had left many friends to whom his memory was dear; the barbarous affaffination of a man to whom his country was fo highly indebted, filled every impartial perfon with horror. The ignominious birth of Almagro, as well as the doubtful title on which he founded his pretentions, led others to confider him as an usurper. The officers who commanded in fome provinces refused to recognize his authority, until it was comfirmed by the emperor. In others, particularly at Cuzco, the royal standard was erected, and preparations made to revenge the murder of their ancient leader.

THOSE feeds of discord, which could not have Arrival of Vaca de lain long dormant, acquired greater vigour and ac-caftro, tivity, when the arrival of Vaca de Castro was After a long and disaftrous voyage, he was driven by ftress of weather into a small harbour in the province of Popayan; and proceeding from thence by land, after a journey no less tedious than difficult, he reached Quito. In his way he received accounts of Pizarro's death, and of the events which followed upon it. He im-

era, dec. 6, lib. rs. c. 1,52, 3, 7, 846.

mediately

76 BOOK mediately produced the royal commission appoint ing him governor of Peru, with the same privileges and authority; and his jurisdiction was who affumes acknowledged, without hefitation, by Benalcazar, the title of Adelantado, or lieutenant-general for the emperor governor, in Popayan, and by Pedro de Puelles, who, in the absence of Gonzalo Pizarro, had the command of the troops left in Quito. Vaca de Castro not only assumed the supreme authority, but shewed that he possessed the talents which the exercise of it at that juncture required. By his influence and address he foon affembled such a body of troops, as not only fet him above all fear of being exposed to any infult from the adverse party, but enabled him to advance from Quito with the dignity that became his character. By dispatching persons of confidence to the different fettlements in Peru, with a formal notification of his arrival and of his commission, he communicated to his countrymen

> the royal pleasure with respect to the government of the country. By private emissaries, he excited fuch officers as had discovered their disapprobation of Almagro's proceedings, to manifest their duty to their fovereign, by supporting the person honoured with his commission. Those measures were productive of great effects. Encouraged by the approach of the new governor, or prepared by his machinations, the loyal were confirmed in their principles, and avowed them with greater boldness; the timid ventured to declare their sentiments; the neutral and wavering, finding it necessary to chuse a side, began to lean to that which now appeared to be the fafeft as well as the

ALMAGRO observed the rapid progress of this Conduct of Almagro. spirit of disaffection to his cause, and, in order to give

most just .

c Benzon, lib. iii. c. 9. Zarate, lib. iv. c. 11. Gomara, c. 146, 147. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. x. c. 1, 2, 3, 7, &c.

give an effectual check to it before the arrival of BOOK Vaca de Castro, he set out at the head of his troops for Cuzco, where the most considerable body of 1542. opponents had erected the royal standard, under the command of Pedro Alvarez Holguin. During his march thither, Herrada, the skilful guide of his youth and of his counfels, died; and from that time his measures were conspicuous for their violence, but concerted with little fagacity; and executed with no address. Holguin, with forces far inferior to those of the opposite party, was defcending towards the coast at the very time that Almagro was on his way to Cuzco. By a very fimple stratagem, he deceived his unexperienced adversary, avoided an engagement, and effected a junction with Alvarado, an officer of note, who had been the first to declare against Almagro as an usurper.

Soon after, Vaca de Castro entered the camp Progress of with the troops which he brought from Quito, and Vaca de Castro. erecting the royal flandard before his own tent. he declared, that, as governor, he would difcharge in person all the functions of general of their combined forces. Though formed by the tenour of his past life to the habits of a sedentary and pacific profession, he at once assumed the activity and discovered the dicision of an officer long accustomed to command. Knowing his strength to be now far superior to that of the enemy, he was impatient to terminate the contest by a battle. Nor did the followers of Almagro, who had no hopes of obtaining pardon for a crime so atrocious as the murder of the governor, decline that mode of decision. They met at Chupas, about sept. 16. two hundred miles from Cuzco, and fought with all the fierce animosity inspired by the violence of civil rage, the rancour of private enmity, the eagernels of revenge, and the last efforts of de-

magro.

BOOK spair. Victory, after remaining long doubtful, declared at last for Vaca de Castro. The superior number of his troops, his own intrepidity, and Defeats Al- the martial talents of Francisco de Carvajal, a veteran officer formed under the great captain in the wars of Italy, and who on that day laid the foundation of his future fame in Peru, triumphed over the bravery of his opponents, though led on by young Almagro with a gallant spirit, worthy of a better cause, and deserving another fate. The carnage was great in proportion to the number of the combatants. Many of the vanquished, especially such as were conscious that they might be charged with being accessary to the assaffination of Pizarro, rushing on the swords of the enemy, chose to fall like soldiers, rather than wait an ignominious doom. Of fourteen hundred men. the total amount of combatants on both fides, five hundred lay dead on the field, and the number of the wounded was still greater d.

Severity of his proceedings.

If the military talents displayed by Vaca de Castro, both in the council and in the field, surprised the adventurers in Peru, they were still more aftonished at his conduct after the victory. As he was by nature a rigid dispenser of justice, and persuaded that it required examples of extraordinary feverity to reftrain the licentious spirit of foldiers fo far removed from the feat of government, he proceeded directly to try his prifoners as rebels. Forty were condemned to fuffer the death of traitors, others were banished from Peru. Their leader, who made his escape from the battle, being betrayed by some of his officers, was publicly

d Zarate, lib. iv. c. 12-19. Gomara, c. 148. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 11-18. Herrara, dec. 7. lib. i. c. 1, 2, 3. lib. iii. c. 1-11.

publicly beheaded in Cuzco and in him the name BOOK of Almagro, and the spirit of the party, was extinct e.

DURING those violent convulsions in Peru, the consultatiemperor and his ministers were intently employed ons of the in preparing regulations, by which they hoped cerning his not only to re-establish tranquillity there, but to dominions in America. introduce a more perfect system of internal policy into all their fettlements in the New World. Rapid and extensive as the Spanish conquests in America had been, they were not carried on by any regular exertion of the national force, but by the occasional efforts of private adventurers. After fitting out a few of thefirst armaments for discovering new regions, the court of Spain, during the busy reigns of Ferdinand and of Charles V. the former the most intriguing prince of the age, and the latter the most ambitious, was encumbered with fuch a multiplicity of schemes, and involved in war with fo many nations of Europe, that it had not leifure to attend to diffant and less interesting objects. The care of profecuting difcovery, or of attempting conquest, was abandoned to individuals; and with fuch ardour did men push forward in this new career, on which novelty, the spirit of adventure, avarice, ambition, and and the hope of meriting heaven, prompted them with combined influence to enter, that in less than half a century almost the whole of that extensive empire which Spain now possesses in the New World, was subjected to its dominion. As the Spanish court contributed nothing towards the various expeditions undertaken in America, it was not intitled to claim much from their fuccefs. The fovereignty of the conquered provinces, with the fifth of the gold and filver, was referved for

c natives employed in this labour by maffers,

e Zarate, lib. iv. c. 21. Gomara, c. 150. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. iii. c. 12. lib. vi. c. 1.

BOOK the crown; every thing else was seized by the af-1542.

fociates as their right. The plunder of the countries which they invaded ferved to indemnify them for what they had expended in equipping themfelves for the service, and the conquered territory was divided among them, according to rules which cuftom had introduced; as permanent eftablishments which their fuccessful valour merited. In the infancy of those settlements, when their extent as well as their value were unknown, many irregularities escaped observation, and it was found necessary to connive at many excesses. The conquered people were pillaged with destructive rapacity, and their country parcelled out among its new mafters in exorbitant shares, far exceeding the highest recompence due to their services. rude conquerors of America, incapable of forming their establishments upon any general or extensive plan of policy, attentive only to private interest, unwilling to forego present gain from the prospect of remote or public benefit, seem to have had no object but to amais sudden wealth, without regarding what might be the confequences of the means by which they acquired it. But when time at length discovered to the Spanish court the importance of its American possessions. the necessity of new-modelling their whole frame became obvious, and in place of the maxims and practices prevalent among military adventurers, it was found requifite to substitute the institutions of regular government.

ONE evil in particular called for an immediate remedy. The conquerors of Mexico and Peru imitated the fatal example of their countrymen fettled in the islands, and employed themselves in fearching for gold and filver with the fame inconsiderate eagerness. Similar effects followed. The natives employed in this labour by mafters,

who in imposing their tasks had no regard either BOOK to what they felt or to what they were able to perform, pined away and perished so fast, that there was reason to apprehend that Spain, instead of possessing countries peopled to such a degree as to be fusceptible of progressive improvement, would foon remain proprietor only of a vast uninhabited defart.

1542.

THE emperor and his ministers were so sensible of this, and fo folicitous to prevent the extinction of the Indian race, which threatened to render their acquisitions of no value, that from time to time various laws, which I have mentioned, had been made for fecuring to that unhappy people more gentle and equitable treatment. But the distance of America from the seat of empire, the feebleness of government in the new colonies, the avarice and audacity of foldiers unaccustomed to restraint, prevented these salutary regulations from operating with any confiderable influence. The evil continued to grow, and at this time the emperor found an interval of leifure from the affairs of Europe to take it into attentive confideration. He confulted not only with his ministers and the The persons members of the council of the Indies, but called he advises. upon feveral persons who had resided long in the New World, to aid them with the refult of their experience and observation. Fortunately for the people of America, among these was Bartholomew de las Casas, who happened to be then at Madrid on a mission from a chapter of his order at Chiapa f. Though, fince the miscarriage of his former schemes for the relief of the Indians, he had continued that up in his cloifter, or occupied in religious functions, his zeal in behalf of the former objects of his pity was so far from abating, that, from an increased knowledge of their suffer-VOL. III. ings,

f Remesal Hist. de Chiapa, p. 146.

BOOKings, its ardour had augmented. He seized eagerly this opportunity of reviving his favourite maxims concerning the treatment of the Indians. 1542.

With the moving eloquence natural to a man on whose mind the scenes which he had beheld had made a deep impression, he described the irreparable waste of the human species in the New World, the Indian race almost totally swept away in the islands in less than fifty years, and hastening to extinction on the continent with the same rapid decay. With the decifive tone of one strongly prepossessed with the truth of his own fystem, he imputed all this to a single cause, to the exactions and cruelty of his countrymen, and contended that nothing could prevent the depopulation of America, but the declaring of its natives to be freemen, and treating them as subjects. not as flaves. Nor did he confide for the fuccess of this proposal in the powers of his oratory alone. In order to enforce them, he composed his famous treatife concerning the destruction of America 8, in which he relates, with many horrid circumstances, but with apparent marks of exaggerated defcription, the devastation of every province which had been vifited by the Spaniards.

His folicitude to introduce a general re-

THE emperor was deeply afflicted with the recital of fo many actions shocking to humanity. But as his views extended far beyond those of Las formation of Casas, he perceived that relieving the Indians from oppression was but one step towards rendering his possessions in the New World a valuable acquisition, and would be of little avail, unless he could circumscribe the power and usurpations of his own fubjects there. The conquerors of America, however great their merit had been towards their country, were mostly persons of such mean birth. and of fuch abject rank in fociety, as give no diffinction

g Remesal, p. 192. 199.

1542.

distinction in the eye of a monarch. The exor-BOOK bitant wealth with which some of them returned. gave umbrage to an age not accustomed to see men in inferior condition elevated above their level, and rifing to emulate or to furpass the ancient nobility in splendour. The territories which their leaders had appropriated to themselves were of enormous extenth; and if the country should ever be improved in proportion to the fertility of the foil, they must grow too wealthy and too powerful for subjects. It appeared to Charles, that this abuse required a remedy no less than the other, and that the regulations concerning both must be enforced by a mode of government more vigorous than had yet been introduced into America.

WITH this view he framed a body of laws, New regucontaining many falutary appointments with re-this purpofe. fpect to the constitution and powers of the fupreme council of the Indies; concerning the station and jurisdiction of the royal audiences in different parts of America, the administration of justice, the order of government, both ecclesiaffical and civil. These were approved of by all ranks of men. But together with them were issued the following regulations, which excited universal alarm, and occasioned the most violent convulsions: - " That as the repartimientos or shares of land seized by several persons appeared to be excessive, the royal audiences are empowered to reduce them to a moderate extent: That upon the death of any conqueror or planter, the lands and Indians granted to him shall not defcend to his widow or children, but return to the crown: That the Indians shall henceforth be exempted from personal service, and shall not be compelled to carry the baggage of travellers, to labour in the mines, or to dive in the pearl fifth-

h See NOTE XV.

BOOKeries: That the stated tribute due by them to their superior shall be ascertained, and they shall be paid as fervants for any work they voluntarily perform: That all perfons who are or have been in public offices, ecclefiaftics of every denomination, hospitals and monasteries, shall be deprived of the lands and Indians allotted to them, and these be annexed to the crown: That every perfon in Peru, who had any criminal concern in the in the contests between Pizarro and Almagro, should forfeit his lands and Indiansi."

His ministrate against

ALL the Spanish ministers who had hitherto fters remon- been entrusted with the direction of American affairs, and who were best acquainted with the state of the country, remonstrated against those regulations, as ruinous to their infant colonies. They represented, that the number of Spaniards who had hitherto emigrated to the New World was fo extremely small, that nothing could be expected from any effort of theirs towards improving the vast regions over which they were scattered; that the success of every scheme for this purpose must depend upon the ministry and service of the Indians. whose native indolence and aversion to labour, no prospect of benefit or promise of reward could furmount: that the moment the right of impoling a talk, and exacting the performance of it, was taken from their mafters, every work of industry must cease, and all the sources from which wealth begun to pour in upon Spain must be stopt for ever. But Charles, tenacious at all times of his own opinions, and so much impressed at present with the view of the disorders which reigned in America, that he was willing to hazard the application even of a dangerous remedy, perfifted in his resolution of publishing the laws. That they might be carried into execution with greater

i Herrara, dec. 7. lib. vi. c. 5. Fernandez Hist. lib. i. c. 1, 2.

vigour and authority, he authorifed Francisco Tel-BOOK lo de Sandoval to repair to Mexico as vifitador or superintendent of that country, and to co-operate with Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy, in enforc- A viceroy ing them. He appointed Blasco Nugnez Vela to appointed for Peru. be governor of Peru, with the title of Viceroy; and in order to strengthen his administration, he established a court of audience in Lima, in which four lawyers of eminence were to prefide as judges k.

THE viceroy and superintendent sailed at the 1544. same time; and an account of the laws which the regulation they were to enforce reached America before them, on in New The entry of Sandoval into Mexico was viewed Spain. as the prelude of general ruin. The unlimited grant of liberty to the Indians affected every Spaniard in America without distinction, and there was hardly one who might not on some pretext be included under the other regulations, and fuffer by them. But the colony in New Spain had now been so long accustomed to the restraints of law and authority under the fleady and prudent administration of Mendoza, that how much soever the spirit of the new statutes was detested and dreaded, no attempt was made to obstruct the publication of them by any act of violence unbecoming subjects. The magistrates and principal inhabitants, however, presented dutiful addresses to the viceroy and superintendent, representing the fatal consequences of enforcing them. Happily for them, Mendoza, by long refidence in the country, was fo thoroughly acquainted with its ftate, that he knew what was for its interest as well as what it could bear; and Sandoval, though new in office, displayed a degree of moderation seldom possessed by persons just entering upon the exercise of power. They engaged to suspend, for fome time, the execution of what was offen-

k Zarate, lib. iii. c. 24. Gomara, c. 151. Vega, p. 2. lib. iii. c. 20.

BOOK five in the new laws, and not only consented that a deputation of citizens should be sent to Europe to lay before the emperor the apprehensions of his subjects in New Spain with respect to their tendency and effects, but they concurred with them in supporting their sentiments. Charles, moved by the opinion of men whose abilities and integrity intitled them to decide concerning what fell immediately, under their own view, granted such a relaxation of the rigour of the laws as re-established the colony in its former tranquillity.

In Peru,

In Peru the storm gathered with an afpect still more fierce and threatening, and was not fo foon dispersed. The conquerors of Peru, of a rank much inferior to those who had subjected Mexico to the Spanish crown, farther removed from the inspection of the parent state, and intoxicated with the fudden acquisition of wealth, carried on all their operations with greater licence and irregularity than any body of adventurers in the New World. Amidst the general subversion of law and order, occasioned by two successive civil wars, when each individual was at liberty to decide for himself, without any guide but his own interest or passions, this turbulent spirit rose above all sense of fubordination. To men thus corrupted by anarchy, the introduction of regular government, the power of a viceroy, and the authority of a respectable court of judicature, would have appeared formidable reffraints, to which they would have submitted with reluctance. But they revolted with indignation against the idea of complying with laws, by which they were to be ftripped at at once of all they had earned so hardly during many years of fervice and fuffering. As the account

¹ Fernandez Hist. lib. i. c. 3, 4. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 21, 22. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. v. c. 7. lib. vii. c. 14, 15. Torquem. Mon. Ind. lib. v. c. 13.

VI.

1544.

count of the new laws fpread fuccessively through BOOK the different fettlements, the inhabitants run together, the women in tears, and the men exclaiming against the injustice and ingratitude of their sovereign in depriving them, unheard and unconvicted, of their possessions. "Is this, cried they, the recompence due to persons, who, without public aid, at their own expence, and by their own valour, have subjected to the crown of Castile territories of fuch vast extent and opulence? these the rewards bestowed for having endured unparalleled diffress, for having encountered every species of danger in the service of their country? Whose merit is so great, whose conduct has been fo irreproachable, that he may not be condemned by some penal clause in regulations, conceived in terms as loose and comprehensive, as if it had been intended that all should be entangled in their fnare? Every Spaniard of note in Peru has held fome public office, and all, without distinction, have been constrained to take an active part in the contest between the two rival chiefs. Were the former to be robbed of their property because they had done their duty? Were the latter to be punished on account of what they could not Shall the conquerors of this great emavoid? pire, instead of receiving marks of distinction, be deprived of the natural confolation of providing for their widows and children, and leave them to depend for sublistence on the scanty supply they can extort from unfeeling courtiers m? We are not able now, continued they, to explore unknown regions in quest of more secure settlements; our constitutions, debilitated with age, and our bodies covered with wounds, are no longer fit for active service; but still we possess vigour sufficient

m Herrera, dec. 7. lib. vii. c. 14, 15.

BOOK ent to affert our just rights, and we will not tamely fuffer them to be wrested from us ".

1544. An infurrection prevented by the moderation of Castro.

By discourses of this fort, uttered with vehemence, and liftened to with universal approbation, their passions were inflamed to such a pitch, that they were prepared for the most violent measures; and began to hold confultations in different places, how they might oppose the entrance of the viceroy and judges, and prevent not only the execution but the promulgation of the new laws. From this, however, they were diverted by the address of Vaca de Castro, who flattered them with hopes, that, as foon as the viceroy and judges should arrive, and had leifure to examine their petitions and remonstrances, they would concur with them in endeavouring to procure fome mitigation in the rigour of laws which had been framed without due attention either to the state of the country, or to the fentiments of the people. A greater degree of accommodation to these, and even fome concessions on the part of government, were now become requisite to compose the present ferment, and to footh the colonists into submission, by inspiring them with confidence in their superi-But without profound discernment, conciliating manners, and flexibility of temper, fuch a plan could not be carried on. The viceroy pofof difaffecti-fessed none of these. Of all the qualities that by the vice- fit men for high command, he was endowed only with integrity and courage; the former harsh and uncomplying, the latter bordering fo frequently on rashness or obstinacy, that in his situation they were defects rather than virtues. From the moment that he landed at Tumbez, Nugnez Vela feems

The fpirit on increased roy.

March 4.

n Gomara, c. 152. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. vi. c. 10, 11. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 20. 22. lib. iv. c. 3, 4.

VI.

1544.

feems to have confidered himfelf merely as an BOOK executive officer, without any discretionary power; and, regardless of whatever he observed or heard concerning the state of the country, he adhered to the letter of the regulations with unrelenting rigour. In all the towns through which he passed, the natives were delared to be free, every person in public office was deprived of his lands and fervants; and as an example of obedience to others, he would not fuffer a fingle Indian to be employed in carrying his baggage in his march towards Lima. Amazement and consternation went before him as he approached; and fo little folicitous was he to prevent them from augmenting, that on entering the capital, he openly avowed that he came to obey the orders of his fovereign, not to dispense with his laws. This harsh declaration was accompanied with what rendered it still more intolerable, haughtiness in deportment, a tone of arrogance and decision in discourse, and an insolence of office grievous to men little accustomed to hold civil authority in high respect. Every attempt to procure a suspension or mitigation of the new laws, the viceroy confidered as flowing from a spirit of disaffection that tended to rebellion. Several persons of rank were confined, and some put to death, without any form of trial. Vaca de Castro was arrested, and notwithstanding the dignity of his former rank, and his merit in having prevented a general infurrection in the colony, he was loaded with chains, and shut up in the common jail.

Bur however general the indignation was a-The malgainst such proceedings, it is probable that the chuse Gonhand of authority would have been strong enough zalo Pizarro

o Zarate, lib. iv. c. 23, 24, 25. Gomara, c. 153-155. Vega, p. 11. lib, iv. c. 4, 5. Fernandez, lib. 1. c. 6-10.

1544.

BOOK to suppress it, and to prevent its bursting out with open violence, if the malcontents had not been provided with a leader of credit and eminence to unite and to direct their efforts. From the time that the purport of the new regulations was known in Peru, every Spaniard there turned his eves towards Gonzalo Pizarro, as the only person able to avert the ruin with which they threatened the colony. From all quarters, letters and addreffes were fent to him, conjuring him to ftand forth as their common protector, and offering to fupport him in the attempt with their lives and fortunes. Gonzalo, though inferior in talents to his other brothers, was equally ambitious, and of courage no less daring. The behaviour of an ungrateful court towards his brothers and himfelf. dwelt continually on his mind, Ferdinand a state prisoner in Europe, the children of the governor in custody of the viceroy, and fent aboard his fleet, himself reduced to the condition of a private citizen in a country, for the discovery and conqueft of which Spain was indebted to his family. These thoughts prompted him to feek for vengeance, and to affert the rights of his family, of which he now confidered himself as the guardian and the heir. But as no Spaniard can eafily furmount that veneration for his fovereign which is interwoven in his frame, the idea of marching in arms against the royal standard filled him with horror. He hesitated long, and was still unresolved, when the violence of the viceroy, the universal call of his countrymen, and the certainty of becoming foon a victim himself to the severity of the new laws, moved him to guit his residence at Chuquisaca de la Plata, and repair to Cuzco. All the inhabitants went out to meet him, and received him with transports of joy, as the deliverer of the colony. In the fervour of their zeal, they elected him procurator general of the Spanish nation in

1544.

Peru, to folicit the repeal of the late regulati-BOOK They authorised him to lay their remonstrances before the royal audience in Lima, and upon pretext of danger from the Indians, authorised him to march thither in arms. Under fanction of this nomination, Pizarrro took possession of the royal treasure, appointed officers, levied foldiers, feized a large train of artillery which Vaca de Castro had deposited in Guamanga, and fet out for Lima, as if he had been advancing against a public enemy. Disaffection having now affumed a regular form, and being united under a chief of fuch a diftinguished name, many perfons of note reforted to his standard; and a confiderable part of the troops raifed by the viceroy to oppose his progress, deserted to him in a body p.

BEFORE Pizarro reached Lima, a revolution had Diffentions happened there, which encouraged him to pro-of the viceceed with almost certainty of success. The vio-court of aulence of the viceroy's administration was not more dience. formidable to the Spaniards of Peru than his overbearing haughtiness was odious to his affociates, the judges of the royal audience. During their voyage from Spain, some symptoms of coldness began to appear q. But as soon as they entered upon the exercise of their respective offices. both parties were fo much exasperated by frequent contests, arising from interference of jurisdiction and contrariety of opinion, that their mutual difgust soon grew into open enmity. The judges thwarted the viceroy in every measure, set at liberty prisoners whom he had confined, justified the malcontents, and applauded their remonstrances. At a time when both departments of government

P Zarate, lib. v. c. 1. Gomara, c. 156, 157. Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 4-12. Fernandez, lib. 1. c. 12-17. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. vii. c. 18, &c. lib. viii. c. 1-5. q Gomara, c. 171.

1544. The viceroy vailed.

BOOK government should have united against the approaching enemy, they were contending with each other for superiority. The judges at length pre-The viceroy, univerfally odious, and imprisoned abandoned even by his own guards, was seized in his palace, and carried to a defert island on the coast, to be kept there until he could be sent home to Spain,

Views of Pizarro.

THE judges, in consequence of this, having assumed the supreme direction of affairs into their own hands, iffued a proclamation fuspending the execution of the obnoxious laws, and fent a meffage to Pizarro, requiring him, as they had already granted whatever he could request, to difmiss his troops, and to repair to Lima with fifteen or twenty attendants. They could hardly expect that a man fo daring and ambitious would tamely comply with this requisition. It was made, probably with no fuch intention, but only to throw a decent veil over their own conduct; for Cepeda, the president of the court of audience, a pragmatical and aspiring lawyer, seems to have held a secret correspondence with Pizarro, and had already formed the plan, which he afterwards executed, of devoting himself to his service. The impriforment of the viceroy, the usurpation of the judges, together with the universal confusion and anarchy confequent upon events fo fingular and unexpected, opened new and vast prospects to Pizarro. He now beheld the supreme power within his reach. Nor did he want courage to push on towards the object which fortune presented to his view. Carvajal, the prompter of his resolutions, and guide of all his actions, had long fixed his eye upon it as the only end at which Pizarro ought to aim. Instead of the inferior function of procurator for the Spanish settlements in Peru, he openly demanded to be governor and captain general of the whole province, and required BOOK the court of audience to grant him a commission to that effect. At the head of twelve hundred men, within a mile of Lima, where there was neither leader nor army to oppose him, such a request carried with it the authority of a command. But the judges, either from unwillingness to relinquish power, or from a desire of preserving some attention to appearances, hesitated, or seemed to hesitate, about complying. Carvajal, impatient He assumes of delay, and impetuous in all his operations, the government. marched into the city by night, seized several officers of distinction obnoxious to Pizarro, and hanged them without the formality of a trial. Next morning the court of audience iffued a commission in the emperor's name, appointing Pizarro governor of Peru, with full powers, civil as well as military, and he entered the town that day with extraordinary pomp, to take possession of his new dignity r.

1544.

But amidst the disorder and turbulence that ac- Oct. 28. companied this total diffolution of the frame of The viceroy recovers his government, the minds of men set loose from the liberty. ordinary restraints of law and authority, acted with fuch capricious irregularity, that events no less extraordinary than unexpected followed in a rapid fuccession. Pizarro had scarcely begun to exercife the new powers with which he was invested, when he beheld formidable enemies rife up to oppose him. The viceroy had been put on board a vessel by the judges of the audience, in order that he might be carried to Spain under cuftody of Juan Alvarez, one of their own number: as foon as they were out at fea, Alvarez, either touched with remorfe or moved by fear, fell at the feet of his prisoner, declaring him from that

rera, dec. 7. lib. viii. c. 10-20.

r Zarate, lib. v. c. 8-10. Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 13-19. Gomara, c. 159-163. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 18-25. HerVI.

BOOK moment to be free, and that he himself, and every person in the ship, would obey him as the legal representative of their sovereign. Nugnez Vela ordered them to fleer to Tumbez, and landing there, erected the royal standard, and refumed his functions of viceroy. Several persons of note, to whom the contagion of the feditious spirit which reigned at Cuzco and Lima had not reached, instantly avowed their resolution to support his authority's. The violence of Pizarro's government, who observed every individual with the timid jealoufy natural to usurpers, and punished every appearance of disaffection with rigour, soon augmented the number of his adherents, as it forced fome leading men in the colony to fly to him for refuge. While he was gathering fuch strength at Tumbez, that his forces began to assume the appearance of what was confidered as an army in America, Diego Centeno, a bold and active officer, exasperated by the cruelty and oppression of Pizarro's lieutenant-governor in the province of Charcas, formed a conspiracy against his life, cut him off, and declared for the viceroy t.

1545. Pizarro marches

PIZARRO, though alarmed with those appearances of hostility in the opposite extremes of the against him. empire, was not disconcerted. He prepared to affert the authority to which he had attained, with the spirit and conduct of an officer accustomed to command, and marched directly against the viceroy as the enemy who was nearest as well as most formidable. As he was mafter of the public revenues in Peru, and most of the military men were attached to his family, his troops were fo numerous, that the viceroy unable to face them retreated towards Quito.

> Zarate, lib. v. c. 9. Gomara, c. 165. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 23. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. viii. c. 15.

> ^t Zarate, lib. v. c. 18. Gomara, c. 169. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. ix. c. 27.

Quito. Pizarro followed him, and in that long BOOK march, through a wild mountainous country, both fuffered hardships and encountered difficulties, 1545. which no troops, but those accustomed to serve in America, could have endured or furmounted o. The viceroy had fcarcely reached Quito, when the van-guard of Pizarro's forces appeared, led by Carvajal, who, though near fouricore, was as hardy and active as any young foldier under his command. Nugnez Vela inflantly abandoned a town incapable of defence, and with a rapidity more refembling a flight than a retreat, marched into the province of Popayan. Pizarro continued to purfue, but finding it impossible to overtake him, returned to Quito. From thence he dispatched Carvajal to oppose Centeno, who was growing formidable in the fouthern provinces of the empire, and he himself remained there to make head against the viceroy *.

By his own activity, and the affiftance of Be- The viceroy nalcazar, Nugnez Vela foon affembled four hun-defeated, dred men in Popayan. As he retained, amidst all his difafters, the same elevation of mind, and the same high sense of his own dignity, he rejected with disdain the advice of some of his followers, who urged him to make overtures of accommodation to Pizarro, declaring that it was only by the fword that a contest with rebels could be decided. With this intention he marched back to Quito. Pizarro, relying on the superior number, and still more on the discipline and valour of his troops, advanced resolutely to meet him. The January 18. battle was fierce and bloody, both parties fighting like men who knew that the possession of a great

u See NOTE XVI. x Zarate, lib. v. c. 15, 16-24. Gomara, c. 167. Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 25-28. Fernandez, lib. 1. c. 34. 40. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. viii. c. 16. 20-27.

1546.

BOOK empire, the fate of their leaders, and their own future fortune, depended upon the iffue of that day. But Pizarro's veterans pushed forward with 1546.

and flain.

fuch regular and well-directed force, that they foon began to make impression on their enemies. The viceroy, by extraordinary exertions, in which the abilities of a commander and the courage of a foldier were equally displayed, held victory for some time in suspense. At length he fell, pierced with many wounds: and the rout of hisfollowers became general. They were hotly purfued. His head was cut off, and placed on the public gibbet in Quito, which Pizarro entered in triumph. The troops affembled by Centeno were dispersed soon after by Carvajal, and he himself compelled to fly to the mountains, where he remained for feveral months concealed in a cave. Every person in Peru, from the frontiers of Popayan to those of Chili, submitted to Pizarro; and by his fleet, under Pedro de Hinojofa, he had not only the unrivalled command of the South-Sea, but had taken possession of Panama, and placed a garrison in Nombre de Dios, on the opposite side of the isthmus, which rendered him mafter of the usual avenue of communication between Spain and Peru y.

AFTER this decifive victory, Pizarro and his vised to as-fume the so- followers remained for some time at Quito, and vereignty of during the first transports of their exultation, they ran into every excess of licentious indulgence, with the riotous spirit usual among low adventurers upon extraordinary fuccess. But, amidst this diffipation, their chief and his confidents were obliged to turn their thoughts fometimes to what was

> y Zarate, lib. v. c. 31, 32. Gomara, c. 170. Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 33, 34. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 51-54. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. x. c. 12. 19-22. dec. 8. lib. i. c. 1-3. Benzo, lib. iii. c. 12.

1546.

was ferious, and deliberated with much folicitude BOOK concerning the part that he ought now to take. Carvajal, no less bold and decisive in counsel than in the field, had from the beginning warned Pizarro, that in the career on which he was entering, it was in vain to think of holding a middle course: that he must either boldly aim at all, or attempt nothing. From the time that Pizarro obtained possession of the government of Peru, he inculcated the same maxim with greater earnestness. Upon receiving an account of the victory at Quito. he remonstrated with him in a tone still more peremptory. "You have usurped (said he, in a letter written to Pizarro on that occasion) the supreme power in this country, in contempt of the emperor's commission to another. You have marched, in hostile array, against the royal standard; you have attacked the representative of your fovereign in the field, have defeated him, and cut off his head. Think not that ever a monach will forgive fuch infults on his dignity, or that any reconciliation with him can be cordial or fincere. Depend no longer on the precarious favour of another. Assume yourself the sovereignty over a country, to the dominion of which your family has a title founded on the rights both of discovery and conquest. It is in your power to attach every Spaniard in Peru of any confequence inviolably to your interest by liberal grants of lands and of Indians, or by instituting ranks of nobility, of creating titles of honour fimilar to those which are courted with fo much eagerness in Europe. By establishing orders of knighthood, with privileges and diffinctions refembling those in Spain. you may bestow a gratification upon the officers in your fervice, fuited to the ideas of military men. Nor is it to your countrymen only that you ought to attend; endeavour to gain the natives. By marrying the Coya, or daughter of the Sun next in Vol. III. fuccef-

VI. 1546

BOOK succession to the crown, you will induce the Indians, out of veneration for the blood of their ancient princes, to unite with the Spaniards in Support of your authority. Thus, at the head of the principal inhabitants of Peru, as well as of the new fettlers there, you may fet at defiance the power of Spain, and repel with ease any feeble force which it can fend at fuch a diftance." Cepeda, the lawyer, who was now Pizarro's confidential counsellor, warmly seconded Carvajal's exhortations, and employed whatever learning he possessed in demonstrating, that all the founders of great monarchies had been raised to pre-eminence, not by the antiquity of their lineage, or the validity of their rights, but by their own enterprifing valour and personal merit 2.

But chuses to negociate with the court of Spain.

PIZARRO liftened attentively to both, and could not conceal the fatisfaction with which he contemplated the object that they presented to his view. But happily for the tranquility of the world, few men possess that superior strength of mind, and extent of abilities, which are capable of forming and executing fuch daring fchemes, as cannot be accomplished without overturning the established order of fociety, and violating those maxims of duty which men are accustomed to hold facred. The mediocrity of Pizarro's talents circumscribed his ambition within more narrow limits. Inflead of aspiring at independent power, he confined his views to the obtaining from the court of Spain a confirmation of the authority which he now possessed; and for that purpose, he sent an officer of distinction thither, to give such a representation of his conduct, and of the flate of the coun-

2 Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 40. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 34. lib. ii. c. 13. 49. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. ii. c. 10.

try, as might induce the emperor and his mi-BOOK nifters, either from inclination or from necessity, to continue him in his prefent flation. 1546.

WHILE Pizarro was deliberating with respect Confultation to the part which he should take, consultations ons of the were held in Spain, with no less solicitude, con-nisters, cerning the measures which ought to be pursued in order to re-establish the emperor's authority in Peru. Though unacquainted with the last excesses of outrage to which the malcontents had proceeded there, the court had received an account of the infurrection against the viceroy, of his imprisonment, and the usurpation of the government by Pizarro. A revolution fo alarming. called for an immediate interpolition of the emperor's abilities and authority. But as he was fully occupied at that time in Germany, in conducting the war against the famous league of Smalkalde, one of the most interesting and arduous enterprises in his reign, the care of providing a remedy for the diforders in Peru devolved upon his fon Philip, and the counsellors whom Charles had appointed to affift him in the government of Spain during his absence. At first view, the actions of Pizarro and his adherents appeared fo repugnant to the duty of subjects towards their fovereign, that the greater part of the ministers infifted on declaring them infantly to be guilty of rebellion, and on proceeding to punish them with exemplary rigour. But when the fervour of their zeal and indignation began to abate, innumerable obstacles to the execution of this meafure presented themselves. The veteran bands of infantry, the strength and glory of the Spanish armies, were then employed in Germany. Spain, exhausted of men and money by a long

feries of wars, in which she has been involved by H 2

.1546.

BOOK the restless ambition of two successive monarchs. could not eafily equip an armament of fufficient force to reduce Pizarro. To transport any respectable body of troops to a country so remote as While Pizar-Peru, appeared almost impossible. ro continued mafter of the South-Sea, the direct route by Nombre de Dios and Panama was impracticable. An attempt to march to Quito by land through the new kingdom of Granada, and the province of Popayan, across regions of vast extent, desolate, unhealthy, or inhabited by fierce and hostile tribes, would be attended with unfurmountable danger and hardships. The passage to the South-Sea by the Straits of Magellan was fo tedious, fo uncertain, and fo little known in that age, that no confidence could be placed in any effort carried on in a course of navigation so remote and precarious. Nothing then remained but to relinquish the system which the ardour of their loyalty had first suggested, and to attempt by lenient measures what could not be effected by force. It was manifest from Pizarro's solicitude to represent his conduct in a favourable light to the emperor, that, notwithstanding the excesses of which he had been guilty, he still retained sentiments of veneration for his fovereign. By a proper application to these, together with some fuch concessions as should discover a spirit of moderation and forbearance in government, he might be yet reclaimed, or the ideas of loyalty natural to Spaniards might fo far revive among his followers, that they would no longer lend their aid to uphold his usurped authority.

Gasca appointed to repair to Peru

THE fuccess, however, of this negociation, no less delicate than it was important, depended enas president, tirely on the abilities and address of the person to whom it should be committed. After weighing with much attention the comparative merit of various

VI.

1546.

various persons, the Spanish ministers fixed with BOOK unanimity of choice, upon Pedro de la Gasca, a priest in no higher station than that of counsellorto the inquisition. Though in no public office, he had been occasionally employed by government in affairs of trust and consequence, and had conducted them with no less skill than success; displaying a gentle and infinuating temper, accompanied with much firmness; probity, superior to any feeling of private interest; and a cautious circumspection in concerting measures, followed by fuch vigour in executing them, as is rarely found in alliance with the other. qualities marked him out for the function to which he was destined. The emperor, to whom Gasca was not unknown, warmly approved of the choice, and communicated it to him in a letter, containing expressions of good-will and confidence, no less honourable to the prince who wrote, than to the subject who received it. Gasca, notwithstanding his advanced age and feeble constitution, and though, from the apprehensions natural to a man, who, during the course of his life, had never been out of his own country, he dreaded the effects of a long voyage, and of an unhealthy climate*, did not hesitate a moment about complying with the will of his fovereign. In order to flew that it was from this principle His modealone that he acted, he refused a bishopric which ration. was offered to him, in order that he might bear a more dignified character; he would accept of no higher title than that of president of the court of audience in Lima; and declared that he would receive no falary on account of his discharging the duties of that office. All he required was, that the expence of supporting his family should be defrayed by the public, and as he was to go like a minister

2 Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 17.

VI. and without any retinue but a few domestics, this would not load the revenue with any enormous burden b.

The powers committed to him.

Bur while he discovered such disinterested moderation with respect to whatever related personally to himself, he demanded his official powers in a very different tone. He infifted, as he was to be employed in a country fo remote from the feat of government, where he could not have recourse to his fovereign for new instructions on every emergence; and as the whole success of his negociations must depend upon the confidence which the people with whom he had to treat could place in the extent of his powers, that he ought to be invested with unlimited authority. that his jurisdiction must reach to all persons and to all causes; that he must be empowered to pardon, to punish, or to reward, as circumstances and the behaviour of different men might require; that, in case of resistance from the malcontents, he might be authorised to reduce them to obedience by force of arms, to levy troops for that purpose, and to call for affistance from the governors of all the Spanish settlements in America. These powers, though manifestly conducive to the great objects of his mission, appeared to the Spanish ministers to be inalienable prerogatives of royalty, which ought not to be delegated to a fubject, and they refused to grant them. But the emperor's views were more enlarged. the nature of his employment, Gasca must be entrusted with discretionary power in several points, and all his efforts might prove ineffectual if he was circum-

b Zarate, lib. vi. c. 6. Gomara, c. 174. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 14—16. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 1. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. i. c. 4, &c.

HISTORY OF AMERICA.

circumscribed in any one particular, Charles scru- BOOK pled not to invest him with authority to the full extent that he demanded. Highly fatisfied with this fresh proof of his master's confidence, Gasca haftened his departure, and without either money or troops, fet out to quell a formidable rebellion c. May 26.

On his arrival at Nombre de Dios, he found His arrival

103 1546.

Hernan Mexia, an officer of note, posted there, at Panama. by order of Pizarro, with a confiderable body of men, to oppose the landing of any hostile forces. But Gasca appeared in such pacific guise, with a train so little formidable, and with a title of no such dignity as to excite terror, that he was received with much respect. From Nombre de Dios he advanced to Panama, and met with a fimilar reception from Hinojosa, whom Pizarro had entrusted with the government of that town, and the command of his fleet flationed there. In both places he held the fame language, declaring that he was fent by their fovereign as a messenger of peace, not as a minister of vengeance; that he came to redress all their grievances, to revoke the laws which had excited alarm, to pardon past offences, and to re-establish order and justice in the government of Peru. His mild deportment, the simplicity of his manners, the fanctity of his profession, and a winning appearance of candour, gained credit to his declarations. The veneration

due to a person clothed with legal authority, and acting in virtue of a royal commission, began to revive among men accustomed for some time to nothing more respectable than an usurped jurisdiction. Hinojosa, Mexia, and several other officers of distinction, to each of whom Gasca applied separately, were gained over to his interest.

BOOK and waited only for some decent occasion of de-VI. claring openly in his favour.

Violent proceedings of Pizarro.

This the violence of Pizarro foon afforded them. As foon as he heard of Gasca's arrival at Panama, though he received at the same time an account of the nature of his commission, and was informed that he offered to render every Spaniard in Peru eafy concerning what was past, by an act of general oblivion; and fecure with respect to the future, by repealing the obnoxious laws; instead of accepting with gratitude his sovereign's gracious concessions, he was so much exasperated on finding that he was not to be continued in his station as governor of the country, that he inftantly resolved to oppose the president's entry into Peru, and to prevent his exercifing any jurisdiction there. To this desperate resolution he added another highly preposterous. He sent a new deputation to Spain to justify this conduct, and to infift, in name of all the communities in Peru, for a confirmation of the government to himfelf during life, as the only means of preferving tranquillity there. The persons entrusted with this strange commission, intimated the intention of Pizarro to the prefident, and required him, in his name, to depart from Panama and return to Spain. They carried likewise secret instructions to Hinojosa, directing him to offer Gasca a prefent of fifty thousand pelos, if he would comply voluntarily with what was demanded of him; and if he should continue obstinate, to cut him off either by affaffination or poison s.

MANY

d Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 21, &c. Zarate, lib. vi. c. 6, 7. Gomara, c. 175. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 3. e Zarate, lib. vi. c. 8. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 33, 34. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. ii. c. 9, 10.

MANY circumstances concurred in pushing on BOOK Pizarro to those wild measures. Having been once accustomed to the pre-eminence of supreme command, he could not bear the thoughts of Gaica gains descending to a private station. Conscious of his his fleet. own demerit, he suspected that the emperor studied only to deceive him, and would never pardon the outrages which he had committed. His chief confidents, no less guilty, entertained the fame apprehensions. The approach of Gasca without any military force excited no terror. There were now above fix thousand Spaniards fettled in Peru'; and at the head of these he doubted not to maintain his own independence, if the court of Spain should refuse to grant what he required. But he knew not that a spirit of defection had already begun to spread among those whom he trufted most. Hinojosa, amazed at his precipitate resolution of setting himself in oppofition to the emperor's commission, and disdaining to be his inftrument in executing the odious crimes pointed out in his fecret inftructions. publicly recognized the prefident as his only lawful fuperior. The officers under his command did the same. Such was the contagious influence of the example, that it reached even the deputies who had been fent from Peru; and at the time when Pizarro expected to hear either of Gasca's return to Spain, or of his death, he received an account of his being mafter of the fleet, of Panama, and of the troops stationed there.

IRRITATED almost to madness by an event Pizarro refo unexpected, he openly prepared for war; and folves on
in order to give some colour of justice to his
arms, he appointed the court of audience in Li-

ma

BOOK ma to proceed to the trial of Gasca, for the crimes of having feized his ships, seduced his officers, and prevented his deputies from proceeding on their voyage to Spain. Cepeda, though acting as a judge in virtue of the royal commission, did not scruple to proftitute the dignity of his function by finding Gasca guilty of treason, and condemning him to death on that account 8. Wild, and even ridiculous, as this proceeding was, it imposed on the low illiterate adventurers, with whom Peru was filled, by the femblance of a legal fanction, warranting Pizarro to carry on hostilities against a convicted traitor. Soldiers accordingly reforted from every quarter to his standard, and he was foon at the head of a thousand men, the best equipped that had ever taken the field in Peru.

Preparations of Gasca.

GASCA, on his part, perceiving that force must be employed in order to accomplish the purpose of his mission, was no less assiduous in collecting troops from Nicaragua, Carthagena, and other fettlements on the continent; and with fuch fuccess, that he was foon in a condition to detach a fquadron of his fleet with a confiderable body of foldiers, to the coast of Peru. Their appearance excited a dreadful alarm; and though they did not attempt for some time to make any descent, they did more effectual service, by setting ashore in different places, persons who dispersed copies of the act of general indemnity, and the revocation of the late edicts; and who made known every where the pacific intentions, as well as mild temper of the prefident. The effect of spreading this information was wonderful. All who were diffatisfied with Pizarro's violent administration.

E Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 55. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 7. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iii. c. 6.

April.

all who retained any sentiments of fidelity to their BOOK sovereign, began to meditate revolt. Some openly deserted a cause which they now deemed to be unjust. Centeno, leaving the cave in which he lay insurrection concealed, assembled about fifty of his former ad-of Centeno; herents, and with this seeble half-armed band advanced boldly to Cuzco. By a sudden attack in the night-time, in which he displayed no less military skill than valour, he rendered himself master of that capital, though defended by a garrison of five hundred men. Most of these having ranged themselves under his banners, he had soon the command of a respectable body of troops b.

PIZARRO, though aftonished at beholding one against enemy approaching by fea, and another by land, whom Piat a time when he trufted to the union of all Perus, in his favour, was of a spirit more undaunted, and more accustomed to the vicislitudes of fortune, than to be disconcerted or appalled. As the danger from Centeno's operations was the most urgent, he instantly set out to oppose him. Having provided horses for all his soldiers, he marched with amazing rapidity. But every morning he found his force diminished by numbers who had left him during the night; and though he became suspicious to excess, and punished without mercy all whom he fulpected, the rage of defertion was too violent to be checked. Before he got within fight of the enemy at Huarina, near the lake Titiaca, he could not muster more than four hundred foldiers. But these he justly confidered as men of tried attachment, on whom he might depend. They were indeed the boldest and most desperate of his followers, conscious like himself of crimes for which they could hardly expect

h Zarate, lib. vi. c. 13-16. Gomara, c. 180, 181. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 28. 64, &c.

BOOK expect forgiveness, and without any hope but in the fuccess of their arms. With these he did not hesitate to attack Centeno's troops, though double 1547. october 20, to his own in number. The royalifts did not decline the combat. It was the most obstinate and bloody that had hitherto been fought in Peru. At length the intrepid valour of Pizarro, and the fuhim, periority of Carvajal's military talents, triumphed

> the vanquished cruel. By this fignal success the reputation of Pizarro was re-established, and being now deemed invincible in the field, his

over numbers, and obtained a complete victory. The booty was immense i, and the treatment of

army increased daily in number 1.

Bur events happened in other parts of Peru. which more than counterbalanced the splendid victory at Huarina. Pizarro had scarcely left Lima, when the citizens, weary of his oppressive dominion, erected the royal standard, and Aldana, with a detachment of foldiers from the fleet, Gasca lands took possession of the town. About the same time 1, the president landed at Tumbez with five hundred men. Encouraged by his presence, every fettlement in the low country declared for the king. The fituation of the two parties was now perfectly reverfed; Cuzco and the adjacent provinces were possessed by Pizarro; all the rest of the empire, from Quito fouthward, acknowledged the jurisdiction of Gasca. As his numbers augmented fast, Gasca advanced into the interior part of the country. His behaviour still continued to be gentle and unaffurning; he expressed, on every occasion, his ardent wish of terminating the contest without bloodshed. More solicitous to reclaim

in Peru.

k Zarate, lib. vii. c. 2, 3. i See NOTE XVII. Goman, c. 181. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 18, &c. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 79. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iv. c. 1, 2. lib. vi. c. 17.

1547.

reclaim than to punish, he upbraided no man for BOOK past offences, but received them as a father receives penitent children returning to a fense of their duty. Though desirous of peace, he did not flaken his preparations for war. He appointed the general rendezvous of his troops in the fertile valley of Xauxa, on the road to Cuzco m. There he remained for some months, not only Advances that he might have time to make another attempt towards towards an accommodation with Pizatro, but that Cuzco. he might train his new foldiers to the use of arms, and accustom them to the discipline of a camp, before he led them against a body of victorious veterans. Pizarro, intoxicated with the fuccess which had hitherto accompanied his arms, and elated with having again near a thousand men under his command, refused to listen to any terms, although Cepeda, together with several of his officers, and even Carvajal himself, gave it as their advice to close with the president's offer of a general indemnity, and the revocation of the obnoxious laws o. Gasca having tried in vain every Dec. 29. expedient to avoid imbruing his hands in the blood of his countrymen, began to move towards Cuzco at the head of fixteen hundred men.

PIZARRO, confident of victory, suffered the Both parties royalists to pass all the rivers that lie between prepare for battle. Guamanga and Cuzco without opposition, and to advance within four leagues of that capital, flattering himself that a defeat in such a situation as rendered a retreat impracticable would at once terminate the war. He then marched out to meet the enemy, and Carvajal chose his ground, April 9. and made the disposition of the troops with the discerning eye, and profound knowledge in the

1548.

m Zarate, lib. vii. c. 1. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 77. 82.
n See NOTE XVIII. Zarate, lib. vii c. 6. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 27.

BOOK art of war, conspicuous in all his operations. As the two armies moved forward flowly to the charge, the appearance of each was fingular. In 1548. that of Pizarro, composed of men enriched with the spoils of the most opulent country in America. every officer, and almost all the private men were clothed in stuffs of filk, or brocade, embroidered with gold and filver; and their horses, their arms. their standards, were adorned with all the pride of military pomp P. That of Gasca, though not fo splendid, exhibited what was no less striking. He himself, accompanied by the archbishop of Lima, the bishops of Quito and Cuzco, and a great number of ecclefiaftics, marching along the lines, bleffing the men, and encouraging them to a refolute discharge of their duty.

Pizarro deferted by his troops,

WHEN both were just ready to engage, Cepeda fet spurs to his horse, galloped off, and surrendered himself to the president. Garcilasso de la Vega, and other officers of note, followed his example. The revolt of persons in such high rank ftruck all with amazement. The mutual confidence on which the union and strength of armies depend, ceased at once. Distrust and consternation spread from rank to rank. Some filently flipped away, others threw down their arms, the greatest number went over to the royalists. Pizarro, Carvajal, and fome leaders, employed authority, threats, and entreaties to stop them, but in vain. In less than half an hour, a body of men, which might have decided the fate of the Peruvian empire, was totally dispersed. Pizarro. feeing all irretrievably loft, cried out in amazement to a few officers who still faithfully adhered to him. "What remains for us to do?" "Let us rush, replied one of them, upon the enemy's firmest battalion, and die like Romans." Dejected with fuch a reverse of fortune, he had

had not spirit to follow this soldiery counsel, and BOOK with a tameness disgraceful to his former fame, he furrendered to one of Gasca's officers. Carvajal, endeavouring to escape, was overtaken and seized. taken,

GASCA, happy in this bloodless victory, did and put to not stain it with cruelty. Pizarro, Carvajal, and death. a small number of the most distinguished or notorious offenders, were punished capitally. Pizarro was beheaded on the day after he furrendered. He submitted to his fate with a composed dignity. and feemed defirous to atone by repentance for the crimes which he had committed. The end of Carvajal was fuitable to his life. On his trial he offered no defence. When the sentence adjudging him to be hanged was pronounced, he carelessly replied, "One can die but once." During the interval between the fentence and execution, he discovered no sign either of remorfe for the past, or of solicitude about the future; scoffing at all who visited him, in his usual farcastic vein of mirth, with the same quickness of repartee and gross pleasantry as at any other period of his life. Cepeda, more criminal than either, ought to have shared the same fate; but the merit of having deferted his affociates at fuch a critical moment, and with fuch decifive effect, faved him from immediate punishment. He was sent, however, as a prisoner to Spain, and died in confinement 9.

In the minute detail which the contemporary historians have given of the civil dissensions that raged in Peru, with little interruption, during ten years, many circumstances occur so striking, and which

⁹ Zarate, lib. vii. c. 6. 7, 8. Gomara, c. 185, 186. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 30, &c. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 86, &c. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iv. c. 14, &c.

BOOK which indicate such an uncommon state of manners, as to merit particular attention.

1548. wars of Pe-

THOUGH the Spaniards who first invaded Pe-No merce-nary foldiers ru were of the lowest order in society, and the in the civil greater part of those who afterwards joined them were persons of desperate fortune, yet in all the bodies of troops brought into the field by the different leaders who contended for superiority, not one man acted as a hired foldier, that follows his flandard for pay. Every adventurer in Peru confidered himself as a conqueror, entitled, by his fervices, to an establishment in that country which had been acquired by his valour. In the contests between the rival chiefs, each chose his fide as he was directed by his own judgment or affections. He joined his commander as a companion of his fortune, and disdained to degrade himself by receiving the wages of a mercenary. It was to their fwords, not to pre-eminence in office, or nobility of birth, that most of the leaders whom they followed were indebted for their elevation: and each of their adherents hoped, by the fame means, to open a way for himself to the possession of power and wealth r.

Armies immenfely expenfive.

Bur though the troops in Peru served without any regular pay, they were raised at immense expence. Among men accustomed to divide the spoils of an opulent country, the desire of obtaining wealth acquired incredible force. The ardour of pursuit augmented in proportion to the hope of fuccess. Where all were intent on the fame object, and under the dominion of the fame passion, there was but one mode of gaining men, or of fecuring their attachment. Officers of name and influence, besides the promise of future establishments, received in hand large gratuities from

HISTORY OF AMERICA.

1548.

the chief with whom they engaged. Gonzalo Pi- BOOK zarro, in order to raise a thousand men, advanced five hundred thousand pesos. Gasca expended on the troops which he led against Pizarro nine hundred thousand pesost. The distribution of property, bestowed as the reward of success, was still more exorbitant. Cepeda, as the recompence And imof his perfidy and address, in perfuading the court wards to inof royal audience to give the fanction of its autho-dividuals. rity to the usurped jurisdiction of Pizarro, received a grant of lands which yielded an annual income of a hundred and fifty thousand pesos ". Hinojosa, who, by his early defection from Pizarro. and furrender of the fleet to Gasca, decided the fate of Peru, obtained a district of country affording two hundred thousand pelos of yearly value *. While fuch rewards were dealt out to the principal officers, with more than royal munificence, proportional shares were conferred upon those of inferior rank.

Such a rapid change of fortune produced its na- Their profutural effects. It gave birth to new wants, and fion and luxnew defires. Veterans long accustomed to hardship and toil, acquired of a sudden a taste for profuse and inconsiderate dissipation, and indulged in all the excesses of military licentiousness. The riot of low debauchery occupied fome; a relish for expensive luxuries spread among others. The meanest soldier in Peru would have thought himself degraded by marching on foot, and at a time when the prices of horses in that country were exorbitant, each infifted on being furnished with one before he would take the field. But VOL. III. though

u Gomara, c. 164.

* Vega, p. 11. lib. vi. c. 3.

Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 54.

Zarate, lib. vii. c. 10. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. v. c. 7.

y Herrera, dec. 5. lib. ii. c. 3. dec. 8. lib. viii. c. 10.

HISTORY OF AMERICA.

1548.

114

BOOK though less patient under the fatigue and hardships of service, they were ready to face danger and death with as much intrepidity as ever, and an mated by the hope of new rewards, they never failed, on the day of battle, to display all their ancient valour.

Ferocity with which their contests were carried on.

TOGETHER with their courage, they retained all the ferocity by which they were originally diftinguished. Civil discord never raged with a more fell spirit than among the Spaniards in Peru. To all the passions which usually envenom contests among countrymen, avarice was added, and rendered their enmity more rancorous. Eagerness to feize the valuable forfeitures expected upon the death of every opponent, shut the door against mercy. To be wealthy, was of itself sufficient to expose a man to accusation, or to subject him to punishment. On the slightest suspicions, Pizarro condemned many of the most opulent inhabitants in Peru to death. Carvajal, without fearching for any pretext to justify his cruelty, cut off many more. The number of those who suffered by the hand of the executioner, was not much inferior to what fell in the field 2; and the greater part was condemned without the formality of any legal

And want of THE violence with which the contending parfaith. ties treated their opponents was not accompanied with its usual attendants, attachment and fidelity to those with whom they acted. The ties of honour which are held facred among foldiers, and the principle of integrity, interwoven as thoroughly in the Spanish character as in that of any nation, feem to have been equally forgotten. Even regard for decency, and the fense of shame, were

Herreit, dec. 8, fib. v. c.

2 See NOTE XIX.

VI. 1548.

totally loft. During their diffensions, there was BOOK hardly a Spaniard in Peru who did not abandon the party which he had originally espoused, betray the affociates with whom he had united, and violate the engagements under which he had come. The viceroy Nugnez Vela, was ruined by the treachery of Cepeda and the other judges of the royal audience, who were bound by the duties of their function to have supported his authority. The chief advisers and companions of Gonzalo Pizarro's revolt, were the first to forsake him, and fubmit to his enemies. His fleet was given up to Gasca, by the man whom he had singled out among his officers to entrust with that important command. On the day that was to decide his fate, an army of veterans, in fight of the enemy, threw down their arms without striking a blow. and deserted a leader who had often conducted them to victory. Inftances of fuch general and avowed contempt of the principles and obligations which attach man to man, and bind them together in focial union, rarely occur in hiftory. It is only where men are far removed from the feat of government, where the restraints of law and order are little felt, where the prospect of gain is unbounded, and immense wealth may cover the crimes by which it is acquired, that we can find any parallel to the levity, the rapaciousness the perfidy and corruption prevalent among the Spaniards in Peru.

On the death of Pizarro, the malcontents in Gasca deevery corner of Peru laid down their arms, and vises em-tranquillity seemed to be perfectly re-established. his soldiers. But two very interesting objects still remained to occupy the prefident's attention. The one was to find immediately fuch employment for a multitude of turbulent and daring adventurers with

· Vega pa 11. Ub. vi. ca da

which

1548.

BOOK which the country was filled, as might prevent them from exciting new commotions. other to bestow proper gratifications upon those to whose loyalty and valour he was indebted for his The former of these was in some measure accomplished, by appointing Pedro de Valdivia to profecute the conquest of Chili; and by empowering Diego Centeno to undertake the discovery of the vast regions bordering on the river De la Plata. The reputation of those leaders, and the hopes of bettering their condition in a new country, alluring many of the most indigent and desperate soldiers to follow their standards, drained off no inconfiderable portion of that mutinous inflammable spirit which Gasca dreaded.

His division of the country among his follow-

nis foldiers.

THE latter was an affair of greater difficulty, and to be adjusted with a more attentive and delicate hand. The repartimientos, or allotments of lands and Indians which fell to be diffributed, in consequence of the death or forseiture of the former possessions, exceeded two millions of pesos of yearly rent a. Gasca, when now absolute master of this immense property, retained the same difinterested fentiments which he had originally professed, and refused to reserve the smallest portion of it for himself. But the number of claimants was great; and whilst the vanity or avarice of every individual fixed the value of his own fervices, and estimated the recompence which he thought due to him, the pretenfions of each were fo extravagant, that it was impossible to fatisfy all. Gasca listened to them one by one, with the most patient attention, and that he might have leifureto weigh the comparative merit of their feveral claims with accuracy, he retired, with the archbishop of Lima and a fingle fecretary, to a village twelve leagues doidw

1548:

leagues from Cuzco. There he spent several days BOOK in allotting to each a diffrict of lands and number of Indians, in proportion to his idea of their past fervices, and future importance. But that he might get beyond the reach of the fierce storm of clamour and rage, which he forefaw would burft out on the publication of his decree, notwithstanding the impartial equity with which he had framed it, he fet out for Lima, leaving the instrument of partition sealed up, with orders not to open it for some days after his departure.

THE indignation excited by publishing the de- Aug. 24. cree of partition was not less than Gasca had ex-The disconpected. Vanity, avarice, emulation, envy, shame, sons. rage, and all the other passions that most vehemently agitate the minds of men when both their honour and their interest are deeply affected, confpired in adding to its violence. It broke out with all the fury of military infolence. Calumny, threats, and curses were poured out openly upon the prefident. He was accused of ingratitude, of partiality, and of injustice. Among foldiers prompt to action, fuch feditious discourse would have been foon followed by deeds no lefs violent, and they already began to turn their eyes towards fome difcontented leaders, expecting them to fland forth in redrefs of their wrongs. By fome vigorous interpolitions of government, a timely check was given to this mutinous spirit, and the danger of another civil war was averted for the present b.

GASCA, however, perceiving that the flame was Re-effasuppressed rather than extinguished, laboured with blishes order the utmost assiduity to soothe the malcontents, by and governbestow- ment, enquired little a naval force a

b Zarate, lib. vii. c. 9. Gomara, c. 187. Vega, p. 11. lib. vii. c. 1, &c. Fernandez, p. 11. lib. i. c. 1, &c. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iv. c. 17, &c.

1549.

BOOK bestowing large gratuities on some, by promising repartimientos, when they fell vacant, to others, and by careffing and flattering all. But that the public fecurity might rest on a foundation more stable than their good affection, he endeavoured to strengthen the hands of his successors in office, by re-establishing the regular administration of justice in every part of the empire. He introduced order and simplicity into the mode of collecting the royal revenue. He issued regulations concerning the treatment of the Indians, well calculated to protect them from oppression, and to provide for their instruction in the principles of religion, without depriving the Spaniards of the benefit accruing from their labour. Having now accomplished every object of his mission, Gasca, longing to return again to a private station, committed the government of Peru to the court of audience, and fet out for Spain. As, during the anarchy and turbulence of the four last years, there had been no remittance made of the royal revenue, he carried with him thirteen hundred thousand pefos of public money, which the œconomy and order of his administration enabled him to fave. after paying all the expences of the war.

and fets out for Spain.

1550.

on there.

His recepti- HE was received in his native country with univerfal admiration of his abilities, and of his virtue. Both were, indeed, highly conspicuous. Without army, or fleet, or public funds; with a train so simple, that only three thousand ducats were expended in equipping him c, he fet out to oppose a formidable rebellion. By his address and talents he supplied all those defects, and feemed to create instruments for executing his defigns. He acquired fuch a naval force, as gave him the command of the sea. He raised a body of men able to cope with the veteran bands which Temandez, p. 11. Eb. i. c. 1, &c. Herrera,

VI.

1550.

gave law to Peru. He vanquished their leader, on BOOK whose arms victory had hitherto attended, and in place of anarchy and usurpation, he established the government of laws, and the authority of the rightful fovereign. But the praise bestowed on his abilities was exceeded by that which his virtue merited. After residing in a country where wealth prefented allurements which had feduced every person who had hitherto possessed power there, he returned from that trying station with integrity not only untainted but unfulpected. After distributing among his countrymen possessions of greater extent and value than had ever been in the disposal of a subject in any age or nation, he himself remained in his original state of poverty; and at the very time, when he brought such a large recruit to the royal treasury, he was obliged to apply by petition for a small fum to discharge fome petty debts which he had contracted during the course of his serviced. Charles was not infensible to such disinterested merit. Gasca was received by him with the most distinguishing marks of esteem, and being promoted to the bishopric of Palencia, he passed the remainder of his days in the tranquillity of retirement, respected by his country, honoured by his fovereign, and beloved by all.

NOTWITHSTANDING all Gasca's wife regulations, the tranquillity of Peru was not of long continuance. In a country, where the authority of government was almost forgotten during the long prevalence of anarchy and mif-rule, where there were disappointed leaders ripe for revolt, and seditious foldiers ready to follow them, it was not difficult to kindle combustion. Several successive infurrections defolated the country for some years. But as those, though fierce, were only transient ftorms,

d MS. penes me.

1550.

BOOK florms, excited rather by the ambition and turbulence of particular men, than by general or public motives, the detail of them is not the obect of this hiftory. These commotions in Peru. like every thing of extreme violence, either in the natural or political body, were not of long duration, and by carrying off the corrupted humours which had given rife to the diforders, they contributed in the end to strengthen the society which at first they threatened to destroy. During their fierce contests, several of the first invaders of Peru, and many of those licentious adventurers whom the fame of their fuccess had allured thither, fell by each other's hands. Each of the parties, as they alternately prevailed in the struggle, cleared the country of a greater number, by executing, profcribing, or banishing their opponents. less enterprising and desperate, and more accustomed to move in the path of fober and peaceable industry, settled in Peru; and the royal authority was gradually established as firmly there as in the other Spanish colonies, of an interior and brief or boround to the brief paic

of Patercial, he paid duche remainder of big days in the case of the residence of the case of ni

World Har and wold Gold's where regulations, the tranquille of Peru was not of long and itingeness of a country where the authority of government was almost forgotten during the long eprevalence of anarchy and makerule, whereotiste were differented lead is ripe for revolutional te-

differential reads to follow them, it was not additional to kindle constantial. Several inconstate

influe ections detolated the country for forne vears. But as thole, though lieice, were only tianill ut

om conec and

Roims

honoured by his fovereign, and beloved

MISTORY OF AMERICA

they had before the restrained to reference build o o s

HISTORY

with the elegant of the proposed with the without these

estination of the companion or hardle with the per-

que et grima gau, le nomento de la mari de avad-

AMERICA.

them, were totally unacquaited with the unital

at Argerica in intro evernels will be confinenced, and

BOOK VII.

As the conquest of the two great empires of BOOK Mexico and Peru forms the most splendid and VII. interesting period in the history of America, a view of their political institutions, and a description of their national manners, will exhibit the human species to the contemplation of intelligent observers in a very singular stage of its progress ^a.

When compared with other parts of the New Mexico and World, Mexico and Peru may be confidered as Peru more polished states. Instead of small, independent, other parts hostile tribes, struggling for subsistence amidst of America. woods and marshes, strangers to industry and arts, unacquainted with subordination, and almost without the appearance of regular government, we find

BOOK find countries of great extent subjected to the dominion of one sovereign, the inhabitants collected together in cities, the wisdom and foresight of rulers employed in providing for the maintenance and security of the people, the empire of laws in some measure established, the authority of religion recognized, many of the arts essential to life brought to some degree of maturity, and the dawn of such as are ornamental beginning to appear.

Their inferiority to the nations of the ancient continent.

Bur if the comparison be made with the people of the ancient continent, the inferiority of America in improvement will be conspicuous, and neither the Mexicans nor Peruvians will be entitled to rank with those nations which merit the name of civilized. They, like the rude tribes around them, were totally unacquainted with the ufeful metals, and the progress which they had made in extending their dominon over the animal creation was inconfiderable. The Mexicans had gone no farther than to tame and rear turkeys, ducks, a species of small dogs, and rabbits b, By this feeble essay of ingenuity, the means of subsistence were rendered somewhat more plentiful and secure, than when men depend folely on hunting; but they had no idea of attempting to fubdue the more robust animals, or of deriving any aid from their ministry in carrying on works of labour. The Peruvians feem to have neglected the inferior animals, and had not rendered any of them domestic except the duck; but they were fortunate in taming the Llama, an animal peculiar to their country, in form refembling a camel, and of a fize somewhat larger than a sheep. Under the protection of man, this species multiplied greatly. Its wool furnished the Peruvians with clothing, its flesh with food. It was even employed as a beast of

VII.

of burden, and carried a moderate load with much BOOK patience and docility. It was never used for draught; and the breed being confined to the mountainous country, its service, if we may judge by incidents that occur in the early Spanish writers, was not very extensive among the Peruvians in their original state.

In tracing the line by which nations proceed towards civility, the discovery of the useful metals, and the acquisition of dominion over the animal creation, have been marked as steps of capital importance in their progress, In our continent, society continued in that state which is denominated barbarous, long after men had attained both. Even with all that command over nature which these confer, many ages elapse, before industry becomes so perfect as to render subsistence secure, before the arts that supply the wants and furnish the accommodations of life are invented, and before any idea is conceived of the various institutions requifite in a well ordered fociety. The Mexicans and Peruvians, without knowledge of the useful metals, or the aid of domestic animals, laboured under disadvantages which must have greatly retarded their progress, and in their highest state of improvement, their power was so limited, and their operations so feeble, that they can hardly be considered as having advanced beyond the infancy of life.

AFTER this general observation concerning the View of the most singular and distinguishing circumstance in institutions the state of both the great empires in America, I of each. shall endeavour to give such a view of the constitution and interior police of each, as may enable us to ascertain their place in the political scale, to allot

BOOK allot them their proper station between the rude tribes in the New World, and the polished states of the ancient, and to determine how far they had rifen above the former, as well as how much they fell below the latter.

Imperfect concerning those of Mexico.

Mexico was first subjected to the Spanish information crown. But our acquaintance with its laws and manners is not, from that circumstance more complete. What I have remarked concerning the defective and inaccurate information on which we must rely with respect to the condition and customs of the favage tribes in America, may be applied likewife to our knowledge of the Mexican empire. Cortes, and the rapacious adventurers who accompanied him, had not leifure or capacity to enrich either civil or natural history with new observations. They undertook their expedition in quest of one object, and seem hardly to have turned their eyes towards any other. Or, if during fome short interval of tranquillity, when the occupations of war ceased, and the ardour of plunder was suspended, the institutions and manners of the people whom they had invaded drew their attention, the inquiries of illiterate foldiers were conducted with fo little fagacity and precision, that the accounts given by them of the policy and order established in the Mexican monarchy are superficial, confused, and inexplicable. It is rather from incidents which they relate occasionally, than from their own deductions and remarks, that we are enabled to form some idea of the genius and manners of that people. The obfcurity in which the ignorance of its conquerors involved the annals of Mexico, was augmented by the fuperstition of those who succeeded them. As the memory of past events was preserved among the Mexicans by figures painted on skins, on cotton cloth.

Vega, p. 1. lib. vist. c. 16.

Private, lib. C. L.

cloth, or on the bark of trees, the early missio-BOOK naries, unable to comprehend their meaning, and VII. struck with their uncouth forms, conceived them to be monuments of idolatry which ought to be destroyed, in order to facilitate the conversion of the Indians. In obedience to an edict iffued by Juan de Zummaraga, a Franciscan monk, the first bishop of Mexico, all those records of the ancient Mexican flory were collected and committed to the flames. In consequence of this fanatical zeal of the monks who first visited New Spain, and which their fucceffors foon began to lament, whatever knowledge of remote events fuch rude monuments contained was entirely loft, and no information remained concerning the ancient revolutions and policy of the empire, but what was derived from tradition, or from some fragments of their historical paintings that escaped the barbarous researches of Zummaraga d. From the experience of all nations it is manifest, that the memory of patt transactions can neither be long preserved, nor be transmitted with any fidelity by tradition. The Mexican paintings which are supposed to have served as annals of their empire, are few in number, and of ambiguous meaning. Thus amidst the uncertainty of the former, and the obscurity of the latter, we must glean what intelligence can be collected from the scanty materials scattered in the Spanish writers.

ACCORDING to the account of the Mexicans Origin of themselves, their empire was not of long durati-the Mexican Their country, as they relate, was originally possessed, rather than peopled, by small independent tribes, whose mode of life and manners refembled those of the rudest savages which we have described. But about a period correfoonding to the beginning of the tenth century in

d Acosta, lib. vi. c. 7. Torquem. Proem. lib. ii. lib. iii. c. 6. lib. xiv. c. 6.

BOOK the Christian æra, several tribes moved in successive migrations from unknown regions towards the north and north-west, and settled in different provinces of Anabac, the ancient name of New Spain. These, more civilized than the original inhabitants, began to form them to the arts of focial life. At length, towards the commencement of the thirteenth century, the Mexicans, a people more polished than any of the former, advanced from the border of the Californian gulf, and took possession of the plains adjacent to a great lake near the centre of the country. After refiding there about fifty years, they founded a town, fince diffinguished by the name of Mexico, which from humble beginnings foon grew to be the most confiderable city in the New World. The Mexicans, long after they were established in their new possessions, continued, like other martial tribes in America, unacquainted with regal dominion, and were governed in peace and conducted in war by fuch as were entitled to pre-eminence by their wisdom or their valour. But among them, as in other states whose power and territories become extensive, the supreme authority centred at last in a fingle person; and when the Spaniards under Cortes invaded the country, Montezuma was the ninth monarch in order who had fwayed the Mexican fceptre, not by hereditary right, but by election.

veryrecent. Such is the traditional tale of the Mexicans concerning the progress of their own empire. According to this, its duration was very short. From the first migration of their parent tribe, they can reckon little more than three hundred years. From the establishment of monarchical government, not above a hundred and thirty years, according to one account e, or a hundred and ninety seem

Acost. Hist. lib. vii. c. 8, &c.

ven, according to another computation had elapf-BOOK ed. If, on one hand, we suppose the Mexican state to have been of higher antiquity, and to have fubfifted during fuch a length of time as the Spanish accounts of its civilization would naturally lead us to conclude, it is difficult to conceive how, among a people who possessed the art of recording events by pictures, and who confidered it as an effential part of their national education, to teach their children to repeat the hiftorical fongs which celebrated the exploits of their ancestors, the knowledge of past transactions should be so flender and limited. If, on the other hand, we adopt their own fystem with respect to the antiquities of their nation, it is no less difficult to account either for that improved state of society, or for the extensive dominion to which their empire had attained, when first visited by the Spaniards. The infancy of nations is folong, and, even when every circumstance is favourable to their progress, they advance so slowly towards any maturity of ftrength or policy, that the recent origin of the Mexicans feems to be a ftrong prefumption of exaggeration, in the splendid descriptions which have been given of their government and manners.

But it is not by theory or conjectures that hif-Facts which tory decides, with regard to the state or character progress in of nations. It produces facts as the foundation civilization. of every judgment which it ventures to pronounce. In collecting those which must regulate our opinion in the present inquiry, some occur that suggest an idea of considerable progress in civilization in the Mexican empire, and others which seem to indicate that it had advanced but little beyond the savage tribes around it. Both shall be exhibited to the view of the reader, that, from comparing them, he may determine on which side the evidence preponderates.

THE

f Purchas Pilgr. iii. p. 1068, &c. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 18.

The right of property fully efta-blifhed.

THE right of private property was perfectly understood, and established in its full extent. Among feveral favage tribes, we have feen, that the idea of a title to the separate and exclusive possession of any object was hardly known; and that among all, it was extremely limited and illdefined. But in Mexico, where agriculture and industry had made some progress, the distinction between real and moveable possessions, between property in land and property in goods, had taken place. Both might be transferred from one perfon to another by fale or barter; both might defcend by inheritance. Every person who could be denominated a freeman had property in land. This, however, they held by various tenures. Some possessed it in full right, and it descended to their heirs. The title of others to their lands was derived from the office or dignity which they enjoyed; and when deprived of the latter, they loft possession of the former. Both these modes of occupying land were deemed noble, and peculiar to citizens of the highest class. The tenure, by which the great body of the people held their property, was very different. In every district a certain quantity of land was measured out, in proportion to the number of families. This was cultivated by the joint labour of the whole; its produce was deposited in a common storehouse, and divided among them according to their respective exigencies. The members of the Calpullee, or affociations, could not alienate their share of the common estate; it was an indivisible permanent property, destined for the support of their families h. In consequence of this distribution of the territory of the state, every man had an interest in its welfare, and the happiness of the individual was connected with the public fecurity.

THE

h Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 15. Torquem. Mon. Ind. lib.

THE number and greatness of the cities in the BOOK Mexican empire is one of the most striking circumstances, that distinguish it from those nations The number in America which we have already described, and greatness While fociety continues in a rude state, the wants of their cities. of men are so few, and they stand so little in need of mutual affiftance, that their inducements to crowd together are extremely feeble. Their industry at the same time is so imperfect, that it cannot fecure fublistence for any considerable number of families fettled in one fpot. They live dispersed, at this period from choice as well as from necesfity, or at the utmost assemble in small hamlets on the banks of the river which supplies them with food, or on the border of fome plain left open by nature, or cleared by their own labour. The Spaniards, accustomed to this mode of habitation among all the favage tribes with which they were then acquainted, were aftonished, on entering New Spain, to find the natives reliding in towns of fuch extent as refembled those of Europe. In the first fervour of their admiration. they compared Zempoalla, though a town only of the second or third fize, to the cities of greatest note in their own country. When, afterwards, they vifited in faccession Tlascala, Cholula, Tacuba, Tezeuco, and Mexico itself, their amazement increased so much; that it led them to convey ideas of their magnitude and populoufness bordering on what is incredible. Even where there is leifure for observation; and no interest that leads to deceive conjectural estimates of the number of people in cities are extremely loofe, and usually much exaggerated. It is not surprifing, then, that Cortes and his companions, little accustomed to fuch computations, and powerfully tempted to magnify, in order to exalt the merit of their own discoveries and conquests, should have been betrayed into this common error, and Vol. III.

BOOK have raifed their descriptions considerably above truth. For this reason, some considerable abatement ought to be made from their calculation of the number of inhabitants in the Mexican cities. and we may fix the standard of their population much lower than they have done; but still they will appear to be cities of fuch confequence, as are not to be found but among people who have made fome considerable progress in the arts of social lifes.

feffions.

The separa. THE separation of professions among the Mextion of pro- cians is a symptom of improvement no less remarkable. Arts, in the early ages of fociety, are fo few and fo fimple, that each man is fufficiently mafter of them all, to gratify every demand of his own limited desires. The savage can form his bow, point his arrows, rear his hut, and hollow his canoe, without calling in the aid of any hand more skilful than his own. Time must have augmented the wants of men, and ripened their ingenuity, before the productions of art become fo complicated in their structure, or so curious in their fabric, that a particular course of education is requifite towards forming the artificer to expertness in contrivance and workmanship, In proportion as refinement spreads, the distinction of professions increases, and they branch out into more numerous and minute fubdivisions. Among the Mexicans, this separation of the arts necessary in life had taken place to a confiderable extent. The functions of the majon, the weaver, the goldfmith, the painter, and of feveral other crafts, were carried on by different persons. Each was regularly instructed in his calling. To it alone his industry was confined; and by affiduous application to one object, together with the persevering patience peculiar to Americans, their artizans attained to a stephon over discoveries and conqueste, fronted

degree of neatness and perfection in work far be-BOOK yond what could have been expected from the rude tools which they employed. Their various productions were brought into commerce; and by the exchange of them in the stated markets held in the cities, their mutual wants were supplied h. in fuch orderly intercourse as characterizes an improved state of society.

THE distinction of ranks established in the The distinction of ranks Mexican empire is the next circumstance that merits attention. In furveying the favage tribes of America, we observed, that consciousness of equality, and impatience of fubordination, are fentiments natural to man in the infancy civil of life. During peace, the authority of a superior is hardly felt among them, and even in war it is but little acknowledged. Strangers to the idea of property, the difference in condition refulting from it is unknown. Birth or titles confer no pre-eminence; it is only by personal merit and accomplishments that it can be acquired. The form of fociety was very different among the Mexicans. The great body of the people were in a most humiliating state. A considerable number, known by the name of Mayeques, nearly resembled in condition those peasants who, under various denominations, were confidered, during the prevalence of the feudal system, as instruments of labour attached to the foil. The Mayeques could not change their place of refidence without permission of the superior on whom they depended. They were conveyed, together with the lands on which they were fettled, from one proprietor to another; and were bound to cultivate the ground, and to perform feveral kinds of fervile work i. Others were

h Cortes Relat. ap Ramuf. iii. 239, &c. Gom. Cron. c. 79. Torquem. lib. xiii. c. 34. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 15, &c. i Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 17. Corita, MS.

BOOK were reduced to the lowest form of subjection, that of domestic servitude, and felt the utmost rigour of that wretched state. Their condition was held to be so vile, and their lives deemed to be of so little value, that a person who killed one of those slaves was not subjected to any punishment k. Even those considered as freemen were treated by their haughty lords as beings of an inferior species. The nobles, possessed of ample territories, were divided into various classes, to each of which peculiar titles of honour belonged. Some of these titles, like their lands, descended from father to fon in perpetual succession. Others were annexed to particular offices, or conferred during life as marks of personal distinction! The monarch, exalted above all, enjoyed extensive power, and fupreme dignity. Thus the diffinction of ranks was completely established, in a line of regular fubordination, reaching from the highest to the lowest member of the community. Each of these knew what he could claim, and what he owed. The people, who were not allowed to wear a dress of the same fashion, or to dwell in houses of a form similar to those of the nobles, accosted them with the most submissive reverence. In the presence of their sovereign, they durst not lift their eyes from the ground, or look him in the face m. The nobles themselves, when admitted to an audience of their fovereign, entered bare-footed, in mean garments, and, as his flaves, paid him homage approaching to adoration. This respect due from inseriors to those above them in rank, was established with such ceremonious accuracy, that it incorporated with their language, and influenced its genius and idiom. The Mexican tongue abounded in expressions of reverence and courtefy. The stile

k Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 7. 1 Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 15. Corita, MS. m Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 14.

and appellations, used in the intercourse between BOOK equals, would have been fo unbecoming in the mouth of one in a lower sphere, when he accosted a person in higher rank, as to be deemed an infult a. It is only in focieties, which time and the institution of regular government have moulded into form, that we find fuch an orderly arrangement of men into different ranks, and fuch nice attention paid to their various rights.

THE spirit of the Mexicans, thus familiarized Their politiand bended to subordination, was prepared for cal confittufubmitting to monarchical government. But the descriptions of their policy and laws, by the Spaniards who overturned them, are so inaccurate and contradictory, that it is difficult to delineate the form of their constitution with any precision. Sometimes they represent the monarchs of Mexico as absolute, deciding according to their pleasure, with respect to every operation of the state. On other occasions, we discover the traces of established customs and laws, framed in order to circumscribe the power of the crown, and we meet with rights and privileges of the nobles which feem to be opposed as barriers against its encroachments. This appearance of inconfistency has arisen from inattention to the innovations of Montezuma upon the Mexican policy. His aspiring ambition subverted the ancient system of government, and introduced a pure despotism. He disregarded their laws, violated their privileges, and reduced his subjects of every order to the level of flaves. The chiefs, or nobles of the first rank, fubmitted to the yoke with fuch reluctance, that, from impatience to shake it off, and hope of recovering their original rights, many of them

n See NOTE XXII. Torquem. lib. ii. c. 69.

o Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 14.

BOOK courted the protection of Cortes, and joined a foreign power against their domestic oppressor. It is not then under the reign of Montezuma, but under those of his predecessors, that we can discover what was the original form and genius of Mexican policy. From the foundation of the monarchy to the election of Montezuma, it feems to have subsisted with little variation. That body of citizens, which may be diffinguished by the name of nobility, formed the chief and most respectable order in the state. They were of various ranks, as has already been observed, and their honours were acquired and transmitted in Their number feems to have different manners. been great. According to an author accustomed to examine with attention what he relates, there were in the Mexican empire thirty of this order, each of whom had in his territories about a hundred thousand people, and subordinate to these. there were about three thousand of a lower class. The territories belonging to the chiefs of Tuzeuco and Tacuba, were hardly inferior in extent to those of the Mexican monarch. Each of these possessed complete territorial jurisdiction, and levied taxes from their own vassals. But all followed the standard of Mexico in war, serving with a number of men in proportion to their domain, and most of them paid tribute to its monarch as their fuperior lord.

> In tracing those great lines of the Mexican confitution, an image of feudal policy in its most rigid form rises to view, and we discern its three distinguishing characteristics, a nobility possessing almost independent authority, a people depressed into

p Herrera, dec. 2. lib. v. c. 10, 11. Torquem. lib. iv. c. 49.
q Herrera, dec. 2. lib. viii. c. 12.
r Torquem. lib. ii.
c. 57. Corita, MS.

into the lowest state of subjection, and a king en-BOOK trufted with the executive power of the state. Its spirit and principles seem to have operated in the New World in the same manner, as in the ancient. The jurisdiction of the crown was extremely limited. All real and effective authority was retained by the Mexican nobles in their own hands, and the shadow of it only left to the king. Jealous to excess of their own rights, they guarded with most vigilant anxiety against the encroachments of their fovereigns. By a fundamental law of the empire, it was provided, that the king should not determine concerning any point of general importance, without the approbation of a council composed of the prime nobility. Unless he obtained their confent he could not engage the nation in war, nor could he dispose of the most confiderable branch of the public revenue at pleafure, it was appropriated to certain purposes from which it could not be delivered by the regal authority. In order to secure full effect to those constitutional restraints, the Mexican nobles did not permit their crown to descend by inheritance, but disposed of it by election. The right of election feems to have been originally vested in the whole body of nobility, but afterwards committed to fix electors, of whom the chiefs of Tezeuco and Tacuba were always two. From respect for the family of their monarchs, the choice fell generally upon some person sprung from it. But as the activity and valour of their prince was of greater moment to a people perpetually engaged in war, than a strict adherence to the order of birth, collaterals of mature age or diftinguished merit were often preferred to those who were nearer

Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 19. Id. dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 16. Corita, MS. Libid. c. 17.

BOOK nearer the throne in direct descent. To this maxim, in their policy, the Mexicans appear to be indebted for such a succession of able and war-like princes, as raised their empire in a short period to that extraordinary height of power, which it had attained when Cortes landed in New Spain.

Power and fplendour of their mo-

WHILE the jurisdiction of the Mexican monarchs continued to be limited, it is probable that it was exercised with little oftentation. But as their authority became more extensive, the splendour of their government augmented. It was in this last state that the Spaniards beheld it, and struck with the appearance of Montezuma's court, they describe its pomp at great length, and with much admiration. The number of his attendants. the order, the filence, and the reverence with which they ferved him; the vast extent of his royal mansion, the variety of its apartments allotted to different officers, and the oftentation with which his grandeur was displayed, whenever he permitted his subjects to behold him. feem to refemble the magnificence of the ancient monarchies in Asia, rather than the simplicity of the infant states in the New World.

Order of their But it was not in the mere parade of royalty government. that the Mexican potentates exhibited their power, they manifested it more beneficially in the order and regularity with which they conducted the internal administration and police of their dominions. Complete jurisdiction, civil as well as criminal, over its own immediate vassals, was vested in the crown, Judges were appointed for each department, and if we may rely on the account which the Spanish writers give of the maxims

u Acosta, lib. vi. c. 24. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 13. Corita, MS.

maxims and laws upon which they founded their BOOK decisions with respect to the distribution of property and the punishment of crimes, justice was administered in the Mexican empire, with a degree of order and equity, resembling what takes place in societies highly civilized.

THEIR attention in providing for the Support Provision for of government was not less sagacious. Taxes of it. were laid upon land, upon the acquisitions of industry, and upon commodities of every kind exposed to sale in the public markets. These duties, though confiderable, were not arbitrary, or unequal. They were imposed according to established rules, and each knew what share of the common burden he had to bear. As the use of money was unknown, all the taxes were paid in kind, and thus not only the natural productions of all the different provinces in the empire, but every species of manufacture, and every work of ingenuity and art were collected in the public store-houses. From those the emperor supplied his numerous train of attendants in peace, and his armies during war, with food, with cloaths, and ornaments. People of inferior condition. neither possessing land nor engaged in commerce, were bound to the performance of various fervices. By their stated labour the crown-lands were cultivated, public works were carried on, and the various houses belonging to the emperor were built, and kept in repair u.

THE improved state of government among the Their police.

Mexicans is conspicuous not only in points essential to the being of a well-ordered society, but in several regulations of inferior consequence with -- respect

u Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 13. dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 16, 17. See NOTE XXIII.

BOOK respect to police: The institution, which I have already mentioned, of public couriers, stationed at proper intervals, to convey intelligence from one part of the empire to the other, was a refinement in police not introduced into any kingdom of Europe at that period. The structure of the capital city in a lake, with artificial dykes, and causeways of great length, which served as avenues to it from different quarters, erected in the water with no less ingenuity than labour, seems to be an idea that could not have occurred to any but a civilized people. The fame observation may be applied to the structure of the aqueducts. or conduits, by which they conveyed a stream of fresh water, from a considerable distance, into the city, along one of the causeways x. pointment of a confiderable number of persons to clean the streets, to light them by fires kindled in different places, and to patrole as watchmen during the night, discovers a degree of attention which even polished nations are late in acquiring.

Their arts.

THE progress of the Mexicans in various arts is considered as the most decisive proof of their fuperior refinement. Cortes, and the early Spanish authors, describe this with rapture, and maintain, that the most celebrated European artists could not furpass or even equal them in ingenuity and neatness of workmanship. They reprefented men, animals, and other objects, by fuch a disposition of various coloured feathers, as is faid to have produced all the effects of light and shade, and to have imitated nature with truth and delicacy. Their ornaments of gold and filver have been described to be of a fabric no less curious. But in forming any idea, from general descriptions,

Torribio, MS.

x See NOTE XXIV. y Herrera, dec. 2. lib. viii. c. 4.

descriptions, concerning the state of arts among BOOK nations imperfectly polished, we are extremely ready to err. In examining the works of people whose advances in improvement are nearly the fame with our own, we view them with a critical, and often with a jealous eye. Whereas, when conscious of our own superiority, we survey the arts of nations comparatively rude, we are aftonished at works executed by them under such manifest disadvantages, and in the warmth of our admiration, are apt to represent them as productions more finished than they really are. influence of this illusion, without supposing any intention to deceive, we may impute the exaggeration of some Spanish authors, in their accounts of the Mexican arts.

IT is not from those descriptions, but from confidering fuch specimens of their arts as are still preserved, that we must decide concerning their degree of merit. As the ship in which Cortes fent to Charles V. the most curious productions of the Mexican artifans, which were collected by the Spaniards when they first pillaged the empire, was taken by a French corfair 2, the remains of their ingenuity are less numerous than those of the Peruvians. Whether any of their works with feathers, in imitation of painting, be still extant in Spain, I have not learned; but many of their ornaments in gold and filver, as well as various utenfils employed in common life, are deposited in the magnificent cabinet of natural and artificial productions, lately opened by the king of Spain; and I am informed by persons on whose judgment and taste I can rely, that these boafted efforts of their art are uncouth representations of common objects, or very coarse images

BOOK of the human and some animal forms, destitute vII. of grace and propriety. The justness of these observations is confirmed by inspecting the wooden prints or copper-plates of their paintings, which have been published by various authors. In them every figure of men, of quadrupeds, or birds, as well as every representation of inanimated nature, is extremely rude and aukward. The hardest Egyptian stile, stiff and impersect as it was, is more elegant. The scrawls of children delineate objects almost as accurately.

Bur however low the Mexican paintings may be ranked, when viewed merely as works of art, a very different station belongs to them, when confidered as the records of their country, as historical monuments of its policy and transactions; and they become curious as well as interesting objects of attention. The noblest and most beneficial invention of which human ingenuity can boaft, is that of writing. But the first essays of this art, which hath contributed more than all others to the improvement of the species, were very rude, and it advanced towards perfection flowly, and by a gradual progression. When the warrior, eager for fame, wished to transmit some knowledge of his exploits to succeeding ages; when the gratitude of a people to their fovereign prompted them to hand down an account of his beneficent deeds to posterity; the first method of accomplishing this, that seems to have occurred to them, was to delineate, in the best manner they could, figures representing the action of which they were folicitous to preserve the memory. Of this, which has very properly been called picture-writing, we find traces among some of the most savage tribes of America. When a leader returns from the field, he strips a tree of its

² See NOTE XXV. b Divine Legat. of Moses, iii. 73.

VII.

bark, and with red paint scratches upon it some BOOK uncouth figures, which represent the order of his march, the number of his followers, the enemy whom he attacked, the scalps and captives which he brought home. To those simple annals he trusts for renown, and foothes himself with hope that by their means he shall receive praise from the warriors of future times .

COMPARED with those aukward essays of their favage countrymen, the paintings of the Mexicans may be confidered as works of composition and defign. They were not acquainted, it is true, with any other method of recording transactions, than that of delineating the objects which they wished to represent. But they could exhibit a more complex feries of events in progressive order, and describe, by a proper disposition of figures, the occurrences of a king's reign from his accession to his death; the progress of an infant's education from its birth until it attained to the years of maturity; the different recompences and marks of distinction conferred upon warriors, in proportion to the exploits which they had performed. Some fingular specimens of this picture-writing have been preserved, which are justly considered as the most curious monuments of art brought from the New World. The most valuable of these was published by Purchas in fixty-fix plates. It is divided into three parts. The first contains the history of the Mexican empire under its ten mo-The fecond is a tribute-roll, reprefentnarchs. ing what each conquered town paid into the royal treasury. The third is a code of their institutions. domestic, political, and military. Another specimen of Mexican painting has been published in thirty-

e Sir W. Johnson Philos. Transact. vol. lxiii. p. 143. Mem. de la Hontan. ii. 191. Lafitau, Mœurs de Sauy. ii. 43.

142

BOOK thirty-two plates, by the present archbishop of Toledo. To both are annexed a full explanation of what the figures were intended to reprefent, which was obtained by the Spaniards from Indians well acquainted with their own arts. The style of painting in all these is the same. They represent things, not words. They exhibit images to the eye, not ideas to the understanding. They may, therefore, be considered as the earliest and most imperfect essay of men in their progress towards discovering the art of writing. The defects in this mode of recording transactions must have been early felt. To paint every occurrence was, from its nature, a very tedious operation; and as affairs became more complicated, and events multiplied in any fociety, its annals must have swelled to an enormous bulk. Besides this, no objects could be delineated but those of sense; the conceptions of the mind had no corporeal form, and as long as picture-writing could not convey an idea of these, it must have been a very imperfect art. The necessity of improving it must have rouzed and sharpened invention, and the human mind holding the same course in the New World as in the Old, might have advanced by the same fuccessive steps, first from an actual picture to the plain hieroglyphic; next, to the allegorical fymbol, then to the arbitrary character; until, at length, an alphabet of letters was discovered, capable of expressing all the variety of combinations of found employed in speech. In the paintings of the Mexicans we, accordingly, perceive, that this progress was begun among them. Upon an attentive inspection of the plates, which I have mentioned, we may observe some approach to the plain or simple hieroglyphic, where some principal part or circumstance in the subject is made to fland for the whole. In the

annals of their kings, published by Purchas, BOOK the towns conquered by each are uniformly reprefented in the same manner by a rude delineation of a house; but in order to point out the particular towns which submitted to their victorious arms. peculiar emblems, fometimes natural objects, and fometimes artificial figures, are employed. In the tribute-roll, published by the archbishop of Toledo, the house, which was properly the picture of the town, is omitted, and the emblem alone is employed to represent it. They seem even to have made fome advances beyond this, towards the use of the more figurative and fanciful hieroglyphic. In order to describe a monarch, who had enlarged his dominions by force of arms, they painted a target ornamented with darts, and placed it between him and those towns which he fubdued. But it is only in one instance, the notation of numbers, that we discern any attempt to exhibit ideas which had no corporeal form. They had invented artificial marks, or figns of convention, for this purpose. By means of these, they computed the years of their kings reigns, as well as the amount of tribute to be paid into the royal treasury. The figure of a circle represented unit, and in small numbers, the computation was made by repeating it. Larger numbers were expressed by a peculiar mark, and they had fuch as denoted all integral numbers from twenty to eight thousand. The short duration of their empire prevented the Mexicans from advancing farther in that long course which conducts men from the labour of delineating real objects, to the simplicity and ease of alphabetic writing. Their records, notwithstanding some dawn of such ideas as might have led to a more perfect style, can be considered as nothing more than a species of picture-writing, fo far improved as to mark their superiority over the savage tribes of America, but still so defective

BOOK as to prove that they had not proceeded far beyond the first stage in that progress which must be completed, before any people can be ranked among polished nations 4.

THEIR mode of computing time may be con-Their mode of computfidered as a more decifive evidence of their pres ing time. gress in improvement. They divided their year into eighteen months, each confifting of twenty days, amounting in all to three hundred and fixty. But as they observed that the course of the sun was not completed in that time, they added five days to the year. These, which were properly intercalary days, they termed supernumerary or waste; and as they did not belong to any month. no work was done, and no facred rite performed on them; they were devoted wholly to festivity and paftime. This near approach to philosophical accuracy is a remarkable proof that the Mexicans had bestowed some attention upon inquiries and speculations, to which men in a very rude state never turn their thoughts.

Facts indicating a fmall progress in civilization.

Such are the most striking particulars in the manners and policy of the Mexicans, which exhibit them to view as a people confiderably refined. From other circumstances, one is apt to suspect that their character, and many of their institutions, did not differ greatly from those of the other inhabitants of America.

Their wars continual and feroci-

LIKE the rude tribes around them, the Mexicans were inceffantly engaged in war, and the motives which prompted them to hostility feem to have been the same. They fought, in order to gratify their vengeance, by shedding the blood of their enemies. In battle they were chiefly intent on taking prisoners, and it was by the numthe real groun guiden ber

d See NOTE XXVI. e Acosta, lib. vi. c. 2.

heen of as bavorquit mi of

ber of these that they estimated the glory of vic-BOOK tory. No captive was ever ransomed or spared. All were facrificed without mercy, and their flesh devoured with the fame barbarous joy as among the fiercest savages. On some occasions it rose ven to wilder excesses. Their principal warriors covered themselves with the skins of the unhappy victims which they had flain, and danced about the streets, boasting of their own valour, and exulting over their enemies f. Even in their civil institutions we discover traces of that barbarous disposition which their system of war inspired. The four chief counsellors of the empire were diftinguished by atrocious titles, which could have been assumed only by a people who delighted in blood 8. This ferocity of character prevailed among all the nations of New Spain. The Tlafcalans, the people of Mechoacan, and other states at enmity with the Mexicans, delighted equally in war, and treated their prisoners with the fame cruelty. In proportion as mankind combine in focial union, and live under the influence of equal laws and regular policy, their manners foften, sentiments of humanity arise, and the rights of the species come to be understood. The fierceness of war abates, and even while engaged in hostility, men remember what they owe one to another. The favage fights to destroy, the citizen to conquer. The former neither pities nor spares, the latter has acquired sensibility that tempers his rage. To this fensibility the Mexicans feem to have been perfect strangers, and among them war was carried on with fo much of its original barbarity, that we cannot but suspect their degree of civilization to have been very imperfect.

f Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 15. Gom. Chron. c. 217. g See NOTE XXVII.

THEIR

VOL. III.

Their funeral rites. On the death of any diftinguished personage, especially of the emperor, a certain number of his attendants were chosen to accompany him to the other world, and those unfortunate victims were put to death without mercy, and buried in the same tomb h.

Their agriculture imperfect.

Though their agriculture was more extensive than that of the roving tribes who trusted chiefly to their bow for food, it feems not to have fupplied them with fuch subfistence as men require when engaged in efforts of active industry. Spaniards appear not to have been struck with any fuperiority of the Mexicans over the other people of America in bodily vigour. Both, according to their observation, were of such a feeble frame as to be unable to endure fatigue, and the strength of one Spaniard exceeded that of feveral Indians. This they imputed to their fcanty diet, on poor fare, fufficient to preserve life, but not to give firmness to the constitution. Such a remark could hardly have been made with respect to any people furnished plentifully with the necessaries of life. The difficulty which Cortes found in procuring subsistence for his small body of soldiers, who were often constrained to live on the spontaneous productions of the earth, seems to confirm the remark of the Spanish writers, and gives no high idea of the state of cultivation in Mexican empire.

A farther proof of this. A PRACTICE that was universal in New Spain appears to favour this opinion. The Mexican women gave suck to their children for several years.

h Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 18. Gom. Chron. c. 202.
i Relat. ap. Ramuf. iii. 306. A. Herrera, dec. 3: lib. iv. c. 17.
dec. 2. lib. vi c. 16.

years, and during that time they did not cohabit BOOK with their husbandsk. This precaution against a burdensome increase of progeny, though necessary as I have already observed, among savages, who, from the hardships of their condition, and the precariousness of their subsistence, find it impossible to rear a numerous family, can hardly be supposed to have continued among a people who lived at ease and in abundance.

THE vast extent of the Mexican empire, which Doubts conhas been confidered, and with justice, as the most extent of the decifive proof of a confiderable progress in regu-empire. lar government and police, is one of those facts in the history of the New World which seems to have been admitted without due examination or fufficient evidence. The Spanish historians, in order to magnify the valour of their countrymen. are accustomed to represent the dominion of Montezuma as firetching over all the provinces of New Spain from the North to the Southern Ocean. But a great part of the mountainous country was possessed by the Otomies, a fierce uncivilized people, who feem to have been the refidue of the original inhabitants. The provinces towards the north and west of Mexico were occupied by the Chichemecas, and other tribes of hunters. None of these recognized the Mexican monarch as their fuperior. Even in the interior and more level country, there were feveral cities and provinces which had never submitted to the Mexican yoke. Tlascala, though only twenty-one leagues from the capital of the empire, was an independent and hostile republic. Cholula, though still nearer, had been subjected only a short time before the arrival of the Spaniards. Tepeaca, at the distance

BOOK of thirty leagues from Mexico, feems to have been a separate state, governed by its own laws!. Mechoacan, the frontier of which extended within forty leagues of Mexico, was a powerful kingdom, remarkable for its implacable enmity to the Mexican namem. By these hostile powers the Mexican empire was circumscribed on every quarter, and the high ideas which we are apt to form of it from the description of the Spanish historians, should be considerably moderated.

courfe averal provinces.

Little inter- In consequence of this independence of sevecourse a-mong its se- ral states in New Spain upon the Mexican empire. there was not any confiderable intercourse between its various provinces. Even in the interiour country, not far distant from the capital, there seem to have been no roads to facilitate the communication of one diffrict with another; and when the Spaniards first attempted to penetrate into it, they had to open their way through forests and marshes. Cortes, in his adventrous march from Mexico to Honduras in 1525, met with obstructions and endured hardships little inferior to those with which he must have struggled in the most uncivilized regions in America. In some places, he could hardly force a passage through impervious woods. and plains overflowed with water. In others, he found fo little cultivation, that his troops were frequently in danger of perishing by famine. Such facts correspond ill with the pompous description which the Spanish writers give of Mexican police and industry, and convey an idea of a country nearly fimilar to that possessed by the Indian tribes in North America. Here and there a trading

n B. Diaz. c. 166. c. 176.

Herrera, dec. 2. lib. x. c. 15. 21. B. Diaz. c. 130. m Herrera, dec. 3. lib ii. c. 10.

a trading or a war-path, as they are called in BOOK North America, led from one fettlement to another, but generally there appeared no fign of any established communication, few marks of industry, and no monument of art.

A No less striking proof of this imperfection Farther in their commercial intercourse is their want of proof of this, money, or fome univerfal flandard by which to estimate the value of commodities. The discovery of this is among the steps of greatest consequence in the progress of nations. Until it has been made, all their transactions must be so aukward, fo operofe, and fo limited, that we may boldly pronounce that they have advanced but a little way in their career. The invention of such a commercial flandard is of fuch high antiquity in our hemisphere, and rises so far beyond the æra of authentic history, as to appear almost coeval with the existence of society. The precious metals feem to have been early employed for this purpose, and from their permanent value, their divifibility, and many other qualities, they are better adapted to serve as a common standard, than any other fubstance of which Nature has given us the command. But in the New World, where these metals abound most, this use of them was not The exigencies of rude tribes, or of monarchies imperfectly civilized, did not call for All their commercial intercourse was carried on by barter, and their ignorance of any common flandard by which to facilitate that exchange of commodities which contributes fo much towards the comfort of life, may be justly mentioned as an evidence of the infant state of their policy. But even in the New World the inconvenience of wanting some general instrument of commerce began to be felt, and fome efforts were made

[·] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. vii. c. 8.

BOOK made towards supplying that defect. The Mexicans, among whom the number and greatness of their cities gave rife to a more extended commerce. than in any part of America, had begun to employ a common flandard of value, which rendered smaller transactions much more easy. As chocolate was the favourite drink of persons in every rank of life, the nuts or almonds of cacao, of which it is composed, were of such universal confumption, that, in their stated markets, these were willingly received in return for commodities of small price. Thus they came to be considered as the instrument of commerce, and the value of what one wished to dispose of, was estimated by the number of nuts of the cacao, which he might expect in exchange for it. This feems to be the utmost length which the Americans had advanced towards the discovery of any expedient for supplying the use of money. And if the want of it is to be held, on one hand, as a proof of their barbarity, this expedient for supplying that want, should be admitted on the other, as an evidence no less satisfying, of the superior progress which the Mexicans had made in refinement and civilization.

Doubts concerning the state of their cities.

In such a rude state were many of the Mexican provinces when first visited by their conquerors. Even their cities, extensive and populous as they were, seem rather to be the habitation of men just emerging from barbarity, than the residence of a polished people. The description of Tlascala nearly resembles that of an Indian village. A number of low straggling huts, scattered about irregularly, according to the caprice of each proprietor, built with turf and stone, and thatched with reeds, without any light but what they received by a door, so low that it could not be entered upright? In Mexico, though from the peculiarity

P Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vi. c. 12.

culiarity of its fituation, the disposition of the BOOK houses was more orderly, the structure of the VII. greater part was equally mean. Nor does the fa-Temples, bric of their temples and other public edifices feem to have been fuch as entitled them to the high praises bestowed upon them by many Spanish authors. As far as one can gather from their obfcure and inaccurate descriptions, the great temple of Mexico, the most famous in New Spain, which has been represented as a magnificent building, raised to such a height, that the ascent to it was by a stair-case of a hundred and fourteen steps, was a folid mass of earth of a square form faced partly with stone. Its base on each side extended. ninety feet, and decreasing gradually as it advanced in height, it terminated in a quadrangle of about thirty feet, where were placed a shrine of the deity and two altars on which the victims were facrificed q. All the other celebrated temples of New Spain exactly resembled that of Mexicor. Such structures convey no high idea of progress in art and ingenuity; and one can hardly conceive that a form more rude and simple could have occurred to a nation, in its first efforts towards erecting any great work.

GREATER skill and ingenuity were displayed, and other if we may believe the Spanish historians, in the public buildhouses of the emperor and in those of the principal nobility. There, some elegance of design was visible, and a commodious arrangement of the apartments was attended to. But if buildings corresponding to such descriptions had ever existed in the Mexican cities, it is probable that some remains of them would still be visible. From the manner in which Cortes conducted the fiege

⁹ Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 17. See NOTE XXVIII.

VII. for the total destruction of whatever had any appearance of splendor in that capital. But as only two centuries and a half have elapsed since the conquest of New Spain, it seems altogether incredible that in a period so short, every vestige of this boasted elegance and grandeur should have disappeared; and that in none of the other cities, particularly in those which did not suffer by the destructive hand of the conquerors, there are not any ruins, which can be considered as monuments of their ancient magnificence.

EVEN in a village of the rudeft Indians there are buildings of greater extent and elevation than common dwelling-houses. Those which are deflined for holding the council of the tribe, and in which all affemble on occasions of public festivity. may be called flatel yedifices when compared with the rest. As among the Mexicans the distinction of ranks was established, and property was unequally divided, the number of diffinguished structures in their towns would of course be greater than in other parts of America. But these seem not to have been either fo folid or magnificent as to merit these pompous epithets which some Spanish authors employ in describing them. It is probable that, though more ornamented, and built on a larger scale, they were erected with the same flight materials which the Indians employed in their common buildings, and Time, in a space much less than two hundred and fifty years, may have fwept away all remains of them t.

From this enumeration of facts, it feems, upon the whole, to be evident that the state of society in

in Mexico was confiderably advanced beyond that BOOK of the favage tribes which we have delineated. But it is no less manifest, that with respect to many particulars, the Spanish accounts of their progress appear to be highly embellished. There is not a more frequent or a more fertile fource of deception in describing the manners and arts of savage nations, or of fuch as are imperfectly civilized, than that of applying to them the names and phrases appropriated to the institutions and refinements of polished life. When the leader of a fmall tribe, or the head of a rude community, is dignified with the title of king or emperor, the place of his refidence can receive no other name but that of his palace; and whatever his attendants may be, they must be called his court. Under fuch appellations they acquire an importance and dignity which does not belong to them. The illusion spreads, and giving a false colour to every part of the narrative, the imagination is fo much carried away with the resemblance, that it becomes difficult to discern objects as they really are. The Spaniards, when they first touched on the Mexican coaft, were fo much flruck with the appearance of attainments in policy and in the arts of life, far superior to those of the rude tribes with which they were hitherto acquainted, that they fancied they had at length discovered a civilized people in the New world. This comparison between the people of Mexico and their uncultivated neighbours they feem to have kept constantly in view, and observing with admiration many things which marked their pre-eminence, they employ in describing their imperfect policy and infant arts, fuch terms as are applicable to the inftitutions of men far beyond them in improvement. Both these circumstances concur in detracting from the credit due to the early Spanish descriptions of Mexican manners. By drawing a parallel between

BOOK VII. civilized, they raifed their own ideas too high. By their mode of describing them, they conveyed ideas to others no less exalted above truth. Later writers have adopted the style of the original historians, and improved upon it. The colours with which De Solis delineates the character of Montezuma, the splendor of his court, the laws and policy of his empire, are the same that he must have employed in exhibiting to view the monarch and institutions of an highly polished

people. Bur though we may admit, that the warm imagination of the Spanish writers has added some embellishment to their descriptions, this will not justify the decisive and peremptory tone, with which feveral authors pronounce all their accounts of the Mexican power, policy, and laws, to be the fictions of men who wished to deceive, or who delighted in the marvellous. There are few historical facts that can be ascertained by evidence more unexceptionable, than may be produced in fupport of the material articles, in the description of the Mexican constitution and manners. witnesses relate what they had beheld, men who had resided among the Mexicans both before and after the conquest, describe institutions and customs which were familiar to them, persons of such different professions that objects must have prefented themselves to their view under every various aspect, foldiers, priefts, and lawyers, all concur in their testimony. Had Cortes ventured to impose upon his sovereign, by exhibiting to him a picture of imaginary manners, there wanted not enemies and rivals who were qualified to detect his deceit, and who would have rejoiced in expofing it. But according to the just remark of an author, whose ingenuity has illustrated and whose eloquence eloquence has adorned the history of America, BOOK this supposition is in itself as improbable, as the VII. attempt would have been audacious. Who among the destroyers of this great empire was so enlightened by science, or so attentive to the progress and operations of men in social life, as to frame a fictitious system of policy, so well combined and so consistent, as that which they delineate, in their accounts of the Mexican government? Where could they have borrowed the idea of many inflitutions in legislation and police, to which, at that period, there was nothing parallel in the nations with which they were acquainted? There was not at the beginning of the fixteenth century, a regular establishment of posts for conveying intelligence, to the fovereign of any kingdom in Europe. The fame observation will apply to what they relate, with respect to the structure of the city of Mexico, the regulations concerning its police, and various laws established for the administration of justice, or fecuring the happiness of the community. Whoever is accustomed to contemplate the progress of nations, will often, at very early stages of it, discover a premature and unexpected dawn of those ideas, which give rise to institutions, that are the pride and ornament of its most advanced period. Even in a state as imperfectly polished as the Mexican empire, the happy genius of fome fagacious observer, excited or aided by circumstances unknown to us, may have introduced institutions which are seldom found but in societies highly refined. But it is almost impossible that the illiterate conquerors of the New World should have formed in any one instance a conception of customs and laws, beyond the standard of improvement in their own age and country. Or if Cortes and his followers had been capable of

5

-

n

le e

[&]quot;M. l'Abbé Raynal Hist. philos. &. polit. &c. iii. 127.

B O O K this, what inducement had those by whom they were superseded to continue the deception? Why should Corita, or Motolinea, or Acosta, have amused their sovereign or their fellow-citizens with a tale purely fabulous?

Religion of the Mexicans.

In one particular, however, the guides whom we must follow have represented the Mexicans to be more barbarous perhaps than they really were. Their religious tenets, and the rites of their worship, are described by them as wild and cruel in an extreme degree. Religion, which occupies no confiderable place in the thoughts of a favage. whose conceptions of any superior power are obfcure, and his facred rites few and fimple, was formed, among the Mexicans, into a regular system, with its complete train of priests, temples, victims, and festivals. This, of itself, is a clear proof that the state of the Mexicans was very different from that of the ruder American tribes. But from the extravagance of their religious notions, or the barbarity of their rites, no conclusion can be drawn with certainty concerning the degree of their civilization. For nations, long af. ter their ideas begin to enlarge, and their manners to refine, adhere to fystems of superstition founded on the rude conceptions of early ages. From the genius of the Mexican religion we may, however, form a most just conclusion with respect to its influence upon the character of the people. The aspect of superstition in Mexico was gloomy and atrocious. Its divinities were clothed with They were terror, and delighted in vengeance. exhibited to the people under deteftable forms that created horror. The figures of ferpents, of tygers, and of other destructive animals, decorated their temples. Fear was the only principle that inspired their votaries. Fasts, mortifications, and penances, all rigid and many of them excruciat-

VII.

ing to an extreme degree, were the means which BOOK they employed to appeale their wrath, and they never approached their altars without sprinkling them with blood drawn from their own bodies. But, of all offerings, human facrifices were deemed the most acceptable. This religious belief, mingling with the implacable spirit of vengeance, and adding new force to it, every captive taken in war was brought to the temple, was devoted as a victim to the deity, and facrificed with rites no less folemn than cruel*. The heart and head were the portion consecrated to the gods; the warrior by whose prowess the prisoner had been seized, carried off the body to feast upon it with his friends. Under the impression of ideas so dreary and terrible, and accustomed daily to scenes of bloodshed rendered awful by religion, the heart of man must harden, and be steeled to every sen-The spirit of the Mexicans timent of humanity. was accordingly unfeeling and atrocious. genius of their religion fo far counterbalanced the influence of policy and arts, that, notwithstanding their progress in both, their manners, instead of foftening, became more fierce. To what circumstances it was owing that superstition assumed fuch a dreadful form among the Mexicans, we have not fufficient knowledge of hiftory to determine. But its influence is visible, and produced an effect that is fingular in the history of the human species. The manners of the people in the New World who had made the greatest progress in the arts of policy, were the most ferocious, and the barbarity of some of their customs exceeded even those of the savage state:

THE empire of Peru boafts of an higher anti-Pretentions quity than that of Mexico. According to the of Peru to an high antradi-tiquity.

x Cort. Relat. ap. Ramuf. iii. 240, &c. B. Diaz. c. 82. Acosta, lib. v. c. 13, &c. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 15, &c. Gomara Chron. c. 80. &c. See NOTE XXXI.

uncertain.

BOOK traditionary accounts collected by the Spaniards. it had subsisted four hundred years, under twelve fuccessive monarchs. But the knowledge of their ancient flory, which the Peruvians could communicate to their conquerors, must have been both imperfect and uncertain 2. Like the other American nations, they were totally unacquainted with the art of writing, and destitute of the only means by which the memory of past transactions can be preferved with any degree of accuracy. Even among people to whom the use of letters is known, the æra where the authenticity of history commences, is much posterior to the introduction of writing. That noble invention continued long fubservient to the common business and wants of life, before it was employed in recording events, with a view of conveying information from one age to another. But in no country did ever tradition alone carry down historic knowledge, in any full continued ftream during a period of half the length that the monarchy of Peru is faid to have fublisted.

Defects in by Quipos.

THE Quipos, or knots on cords of different cotheir records lours, which are celebrated by authors fond of the marvellous, as if they had been regular annals of the empire, imperfectly supplied the place of writing. According to the obscure description of them by Acosta a, which Garcilasso de la Vega has adopted with little variation and no improvement, the quipos feem to have been a device for rendering calculation more expeditious and accurate. By the various colours different objects were denoted, and by each knot a distinct number. Thus an account was taken, and a kind of register kept, of the inhabitants in each province, or of the several productions collected there for public use. But as by these knots, however varied or com-

bined, no moral or abstract idea, no operation or BOOK quality of the mind could be represented, they contributed little towards preserving the memory of ancient events and inflitutions. The Mexican paintings and fymbols, rude as they were, conveyed to them more knowledge of remote transactions. than the Peruvians could derive from their boafted quipos. Had they been even of more extensive use, and better adapted to supply the place of written records, they perished so generally, together with the other monuments of the Peruvian ingenuity, in the general wreck occasioned by the Spanish conquest, and the civil wars subsequent to it, that no accession of light or knowledge comes from them. All the zeal of Garcilasso de la Vega for the honour of that race of monarchs from whom he descended, all the industry of his refearches, and the superior advantages with which he carried them on, opened no fource of information unknown to the Spanish authors who wrote before him. In his Royal Commentaries, he confines himself to illustrate what they had related concerning the antiquities and inftitutions of Perub; and his illustrations, like their accounts, are derived entirely from the traditionary tales current among his countrymen.

VERY little credit then is due to the minute details which have been given of the exploits, the battles, the conquests, and private character of the early Peruvian monarchs. We can rest upon nothing in their story, as authentic, but a few facts, so interwoven in the system of their religion and policy, as preserved the memory of them from being lost; and upon the description of such customs and institutions as continued in sorce at the time of the conquest, and fell under the immediate

BOOK immediate observation of the Spaniards. By attending carefully to these, and endeavouring to separate them from what appears to be fabulous, or of doubtful authority, I have laboured to form an idea of the Peruvian government and manners.

Origin of their civil policy.

THE people of Peru, as I have already observed c, had not advanced beyond the rudest form of favage life, when Manco Capac, and his confort Mama Ocollo, appeared to instruct and civilize them. Who these extraordinary personages were, whether they imported their fystem of legislation and knowledge of arts from some country more improved, or, if natives of Peru, how they acquired ideas fo far fuperior to those of the people whom they addressed, are circumstances with refpect to which the Peruvian tradition conveys no information. Manco Capac and his confort, taking advantage of the propenfity in the Peruvians to superstition, and particularly of their veneration for the Sun, pretended to be children of that glorious luminary, and to deliver their instructions in his name and authority. The multitude liftened and believed. What reformation in policy and manners the Peruvians ascribe to those founders of their empire, and how, from the precepts of the Inca and his confort, their anceftors gradually acquired fome knowledge of those arts, and some relish for that industry, which render subsistence secure and life comfortable, hath been formerly related. Those bleffings were originally confined within narrow precincts; for the authority of the first Inca did not reach many leagues beyond Cuzco. But, in process of time, his fucceffors extended their dominion over

all the regions that stretch to the west of the An-BOOK des from Chili to Quito, establishing in every province their peculiar policy and religious institutions.

THE most fingular and striking circumstance Founded in in the Peruvian government, is the influence of religion. religion upon its genius and laws. Religious ideas make fuch a feeble impression on the mind of a favage, that their effect upon his fentiments and manners are hardly perceptible. Among the Mexicans, religion, reduced into a regular system, and holding a confiderable place in their public institutions, operated with conspicuous efficacy in forming the peculiar character of that people. But in Peru, the whole system of civil policy was founded on religion. The Inca appeared not only as a legislator, but as the messenger of Heaven. His precepts were received not merely as the injunctions of a superior, but as the mandates of the Deity. His race was held to be facred; and in order to preferve it diffinct. without being poluted by any mixture of inferior blood, the fons of Manco Capac married their own fifters, and no person was ever admitted to the throne who could not claim it by fuch a pure descent. To those Children of the Sun, for that was the appellation bestowed upon all the offspring of the first Inca, the people looked up with the reverence due to beings of a superior order. They were deemed to be under the immediate protection of the deity from whom they issued, and by him every order of the reigning Inca was supposed to be dictated.

From those ideas two consequences resulted. Two reThe authority of the Inca was unlimited and abeffects of folute, in the most extensive meaning of the this.
words. Whenever the decrees of a prince are considered as the commands of the Divinity, it is
Vol. III.

BOOK not only an act of rebellion but of impiety, to

The abioof the Inca.

dispute or oppose his will. Obedience becomes a duty of religion; and as it would be profane to lute power controul a monarch under the guidance of Heaven, and prefumptuous to advise him, nothing remains but to submit with implicit respect. must necessarily be the effect of every government established on pretensions of intercourse with superior powers. Such accordingly was the blind fubmission which the Peruvians yielded to their sovereigns. The persons of highest rank and greateft power in their dominions acknowledged them to be of a more exalted nature; and in testimony of this, when admitted into their presence, they entered with a burden upon their shoulders, as an emblem of their fervitude, and willingness to bear whatever the Inca was pleased to impose. Among their fubjects force was not requifite to fecond their commands. Every officer entrufted with the execution of them was revered, and, according to the account of an intelligent observer of Peruvian manners, might proceed alone from one extremity of the empire to another, without meeting opposition; for, on producing a fringe from the royal Borla, an ornament peculiar to the reigning Inca, the lives and fortunes of the people were at his disposal.

All crimes punished capitally.

ANOTHER consequence of establishing government in Peru on the foundation of religion, was, that all crimes were punished capitally. They were not confidered as transgressions of human laws, but as infults offered to the Deity. Each, without any distinction between such as were flight and fuch as were atrocious, called for vengeance, and could be expiated only by the blood of the offender. Confonantly to the same ideas, punishment followed the trespass with inevitable certanty,

d Zarate, lib. i. c. 13.

certainty, because an offence against Heaven was BOOK deemed fuch an high enormity as could not be pardoned . Among a people of corrupted morals, maxims of jurisprudence so severe and unrelenting, by rendering men ferocious and desperate, would be more apt to multiply crimes than to restrain them. But the Peruvians, of simple manners and unfuspicious faith, were held in such awe by this rigid discipline, that the number of offenders were extremely small. Veneration for monarchs, enlightened and directed, as they believed, by the divinity whom they adored, prompted them to their duty; the dread of punishment, which they were taught to confider as unavoidable vengeance inflicted by offended Heaven, withheld them from evil.

THE System of Superstition on which the Incas Mild genius ingrafted their pretentions to fuch high authority, ligion. was of a genius very different from that established among the Mexicans. Manco Capac turned the veneration of his followers entirely towards natural objects. The Sun, as the great fource of light, of joy; and fertility in the creation, attracted their principal homage. The Moon and Stars, as co-operating with him, were entitled to fecondary honours. Wherever the propenfity in the human mind to acknowledge and to adore fome superior power, takes this direction, and is employed in contemplating the order and beneficence that really exist in nature, the spirit of fuperstition is mild. Wherever imaginary beings, created by the fancy and the fears of men, are fupposed to preside in nature, and become the objects of worship, superstition always assumes a wilder and more atrocious form. Of the latter M 2

e Vega, lib. ii. c. 6.

BOOK we have an example among the Mexicans, of the former among the people of Peru. They had not, indeed, made fuch progress in observation or inquiry, as to have attained just conceptions of the Deity; nor was there in their language any proper name or appellation, of the Supreme Power, which intimated that they had formed any idea of him as the Creator and Governor of the World f. But by directing their veneration to that glorious luminary, which, by its universal and vivifying energy, is the best emblem of divine beneficence, the rites and observances which they deemed acceptable to him were innocent and humane. They offered to the Sun a part of those productions which his genial warmth had called forth from the bosom of the earth, and reared to They facrificed, as an oblation of gratitude, some of the animals who were indebted to his influence for nourishment. They prefented to him choice specimens of those works of ingenuity which his light had guided the hand of man in forming. But the Incas never stained his altars with human blood, nor could they conceive that their beneficent father the Sun would be delighted with fuch horrid victims s. Thus the Peruvians, unacquainted with those barbarous rites which extinguish fensibility, and suppress the feelings of nature at the fight of human fufferings, were formed, by the spirit of the superstition which they had adopted, to a national character more gentle than that of any people in America.

Its influence on civil policy,

Its influence operated even upon their civil inflitutions, and tended to correct in them any thing that was adverse to gentleness of character. The dominion of the Incas, though the most absolute of all despotisms, was mitigated by its alliance

f Acosta, lib. v. c. 3. 8 See NOTE XXXIII.

with religion. The mind was not humbled and BOOK suppressed by the idea of a forced subjection to the will of a fuperior; obedience, paid to one who was believed to be clothed with divine authority. was willingly yielded, and implied no degradation. The fovereign, conscious that the submissive reverence of his people flowed from their belief of his heavenly descent, was continually reminded of a distinction which prompted him to imitate that beneficent power which he was supposed to represent. In consequence of those impressions, there hardly occurs in the traditional history of Peru, any instance of rebellion against the reigning prince, and, among twelve fuccessive monarchs, there was not one tyrant.

were carried on with a spirit very different from their military system, that of other American nations. They fought not, like favages, to destroy and exterminate; or, like the Mexicans, to glut blood-thirsty divinities with human facrifices. They conquered, in order to reclaim and civilize the vanquished. and to diffuse the knowledge of their own inftitutions and arts. Prisoners seem not to have been exposed to the infults and tortures, which were their lot in every other part of the New World. The Incas took the people whom they fubdued under their protection, and admitted them to a participation of all the advantages enjoyed by their original subjects. This practice, so repugnant to American ferocity, and resembling the humanity of the most polished nations, must be ascribed, like other peculiarities which we have observed in the Peruvian manners, to the genius of their religion. The Incas, confidering the homage paid to any object but the heavenly pow-

ers which they adored, as impious, were fond of gaining profelytes to their favourite system.

EVEN the wars in which the Incas engaged, and use on

BOOK The idols of every conquered province were carried in triumph to the great temple at Cuzcoh, and placed there as trophies of the superior power of the divinity who was the protector of the empire. The people were treated with lenity, and instructed in the religious tenets of their new masters i, that the conqueror might have the glory of having added to the number of the votaries of his father the Sun.

Peculiar state of property.

THE state of property in Peru was no less fingular than that of religion, and contributed likewife, towards giving a mild turn of character to the people. All the lands capable of cultivation were divided into three shares. One was consecrated to the Sun, and whatever it produced was applied towards the erection of temples, and furnishing what was requisite towards celebrating the public rites of religion. The other belonged to the Inca, and was fet apart as the provision made by the community for the support of go-The third and largest share was referved for the maintenance of the people, among whom it was parcelled out. No person, however, had a right of exclusive property in the portion allotted to him. He possessed it only for a year, at the expiration of which a new division was made in proportion to the rank, the number, and exigencies of each family. All those lands were cultivated by the joint industry of the communi-The people, fummoned by a proper officer, repaired in a body to the fields, and performed their common task, while songs and musical inftruments cheered them to their labour k. By this fingular distribution of territory, as well as by the mode of cultivating it, the idea of a common in-

Effects of this.

Vega, lib. v. c. 12. h Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 4. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 8. k Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 2. Vega, lib. v. c. 5.

HISTORY OF AMERICA.

terest, and of mutual subserviency was continually BOOK inculcated. Each individual felt his connection with those around him, and knew that he depended on their friendly aid for what increase he was to reap. A state thus constituted may be considered as one great family, in which the union of members was so complete, and the exchange of good offices so perceptible, as to create stronger attachment, and to bind man to man in closer intercourse, than subsisted under any form of soci-

ety established in America. From this resulted gentle manners, and mild virtues unknown in the savage state, and with which the Mexicans were

little acquainted.

Bur, though the institutions of the Incas were Inequality so framed as to strengthen the bonds of affection of ranks.

among their subjects, there was great inequality in their condition. The distinction of ranks was fully established in Peru. A great body of the inhabitants, under the denomination of Yanaconas, were held in a state servitude. Their garb and houses were of a form different from those of Like the Tamemes of Mexico, they free-men. were employed in carrying burdens, and in performing every other work of drudgery! Next to them in rank, were fuch of the people as were free, but diffinguished by no official or hereditary honours. Above them were raifed, those whom the Spaniards call Orejones, from the ornaments worn in their ears. They formed what may be denominated the order of nobles, and in peace, as well as war, held every office of power or trust m. At the head of all were the children of the Sun, who, by their high descent, and peculiar

1 Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4. lib. x. c. 8. m Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 1.

BOOK culiar privileges, were as much exalted above the Orejones, as these were elevated beyond the people.

State of arts. Such a form of fociety, from the union of its members, as well as from the distinction in their ranks, was favourable to progress in the arts. But the Spaniards having been acquainted with the improved state of various arts in Mexico, several years before they discovered Peru, were not so much struck with what they observed in the latter country, and describe the appearances of ingenuity there with less warmth of admiration. The Peruvians, nevertheless, had advanced far beyond the Mexicans, both in the necessary arts of life, and in such as have some title to the name

Improved culture.

of elegant.

In Peru, agriculture, the art of primary nefate of agri- ceffity in focial life, was more extensive, and carried on with greater skill than in any part of America. The Spaniards, in their progress through the country, were fo fully supplied with provisions of every kind, that in the relation of their adventures we meet with none of those dismal fcenes of diffress occasioned by famine, in which the conquerors of Mexico were fo often involved. The quantity of foil under cultivation was not left to the discretion of individuals, but regulated by public authority in proportion to the exigencies of the community. Even the calamity of an unfruitful feason was but little felt, for the product of the lands confecrated to the Sun, as well as those set apart for the Inca, being deposited in the Tambos, or public store-houses, it remained there as a stated provision for times of scarcity. As the extent of cultivation was determined with fuch

fuch provident attention to the demands of the BOOK state, the inventions and industry of the Peruvians were called forth to extraordinary exertions, by certain defects peculiar to their climate and foil. All the vast rivers that flow from the Andes take their course eastward to the Atlantic Ocean. Peru is watered only by fome streams which rush down from the mountains like torrents. A great part of the low-country is fandy and barren, and never refreshed with rain. In order to render such an unpromising region fertile, the ingenuity of the Peruvians had recourfe to various expedients. By means of artificial canals conducted, with much patience and confiderable art, from the torrents that poured across their country, they conveyed a regular supply of moisture to their fields . They enriched the foil by manuring it with the dung of fea-fowls, of which they found an inexhauftible store on all the islands scattered along their coafts p. In describing the customs of any nation thoroughly civilized, fuch practices would hardly draw attention, or be mentioned as in any degree remarkable, but in the history of the improvident race of men in the New World, they are entitled to notice as fingular proofs of industry The use of the plough, indeed, and of art. They turned up was unknown to the Peruvians. the earth with a kind of mattock of hard wood q. Nor was this labour deemed fo degrading as to be devolved wholly upon the women. Both fexes joined in performing this necessary work. the children of the Sun set an example of industry. by cultivating a field near Cuzco with their own hands, and they dignified this function by denominating it their triumph over the earth.

THE

O Zarate, lib. i. c. 4. Vega, lib. v. c. 1. & 24.

P Acosta, lib. iv. c. 37. Vega, lib. v. c. 3. See NOTE

XXXIV. q Zarate, lib. i, c. 8. r Vega, lib. v. c. 2.

BOOK VII. Their buildings.

THE superior ingenuity of the Peruvians is obvious, likewise, in the construction of their houses and public buildings. In the extensive plains which stretch along the Pacific Ocean, where the Iky is perpetually serene, and the climate mild. their houses were very properly of a fabric extremely flight. But in the higher regions, where rain falls, where the vicissitude of seasons is known, and their rigour felt, they were constructed with greater folidity. They were generally of a square form, the walls about eight feet high, built with bricks hardened in the fun, the door low and strait, and without any windows. Simple as these structures were, and rude as the materials may feem to be of which they were formed, they were so durable, that many of them still subsist in different parts of Peru, long after every monument that might have conveyed to us any idea of the domestic state of the other American nations has vanished from the face of the earth. But it was in the temples confecrated to the Sun, and in the buildings destined for the residence of their monarchs, that the Peruvians difplayed the utmost extent of their art and contrivance. The descriptions of them by such of the Spanish writers as had an opportunity of contemplating them while, in some measure, entire, might have appeared highly exaggerated, if the ruins which still remain, did not vouch the truth of their relations. These ruins of sacred or royal buildings are found in every province of the empire, and by their frequency demonstrate that they are monuments of a powerful people, who must have subsisted, during a period of some extent, in a state of no inconsiderable improvement. They appear to have been edifices various in their dimensions. Some of a moderate size, many of immense extent, all remarkable for solidity, and resembling each other in the stile of architecture. The

The temple of Pachacamac, together with a pa- BOOK lace of the Inca, and a fortress, were so connected together as to form one great structure, above half a league in circuit. In this prodigious pile, the fame fingular tafte in building is conspicuous as in other works of the Peruvians. As they were unacquainted with the use of the pulley, and other mechanical powers, and could not elevate the large stones and bricks which they employed in building to any confiderable height, the walls of this edifice, in which they feem to have made their greatest effort towards magnificence, did not rise above twelve feet from the ground. Though they had not discovered the use of mortar or of any other cement in building, the bricks or stones were joined with fo much nicety, that the feams can hardly be difcerned s. The apartments, as far as the distribution of them can be traced in the ruins, were ill-disposed, and afforded little accommodation. There was not a fingle window in any part of the building, and as no light could enter but by the door, all the apartments of largest dimension must either have been perfectly dark, or illuminated by some other means. But with all these and many other imperfections that might be mentioned, in their art of building, the works of the Peruvians which still remain must be confidered as flupenduous efforts of a people unacquainted with the use of iron, and convey to us an high idea of the power possessed by their ancient monarchs.

THESE, however, were not the noblest or most Their pubuseful works of the Incas. The two great roads from Cuzco to Quito, extending in an uninterrupted ftretch above five hundred leagues, are entitled to still higher praise. The one was conducted

BOOK ducted through the interior and mountainous country, the other through the plains on the fea-From the language of admiration in which some of the early writers express their aftonishment when they first viewed those roads, and from the more pompous descriptions of later writers, who labour to support some favourite theory concerning America, one might be led to compare this work of the Incas to the famous military ways which remain as monuments of the Roman power: But in a country where there was no tame animal except the Llama, which was never used for draught, and but little as a beast of burden, where the high roads were feldom trod by any but a human foot, no great degree of labour and art was requisite in forming them. The Peruvian roads were only fifteen feet in breadth t. and in many places so slightly formed, that time foon effaced every veftige of the course in which they ran. In the low country little more feems to have been done, than to plant trees or to fix posts at certain intervals, in order to mark the proper route to travellers. To open a path through the mountainous country was a more arduous task. Eminencies were levelled, and hollows filled up, and for the preservation of the road, it was fenced with a bank of turf. At proper distances, Tambos, or storehouses, were erected for the accommodation of the Inca and his attendants, in their progress through his dominions. From the manner in which the road was originally formed in this higher and more impervious region, it has proved more durable; and though, from the inattention of the Spaniards to every object but that of working their mines, nothing has been done towards keeping it in repair, its course may ftill be traced u. Such was the celebrated road of the Incas;

² Cieca, c. 60. P Xerez, p. 189, 191. Zarate, lib. i. c. 13,

Incas; and even from this description, divested of BOOK every circumstance of manifest exaggeration, or of suspicious aspect, it must be considered as a striking proof of an extraordinary progress in improvement and policy. To the savage tribes of America, the idea of facilitating communication with places at a distance had never occurred. To the Mexicans it was hardly known. Even in the most civilized countries of Europe, men had advanced far in refinement, before it became a regular object of national police to form such roads as render intercourse commodious.

THE formation of those roads introduced ano- and bridges. ther improvement in Peru equally unknown over all the rest of America. In its course from south to north, the road of the Incas was interfected by all the torrents which roll from the Andes towards the Western Ocean. From the rapidity of their course, as well as from the frequency and violence of their inundation, these were unnavigable. Some expedient was to be found for passing them. The Peruvians, from their unacquaintance with the use of arches, and their inability to work in wood, could not construct bridges either of stone or timber. But necessity, the parent of invention, suggested a device which supplied that defect. They formed cables of great strength, by twisting together some of the pliable withs or ofiers, with which their country abounds; fix of which they stretched across the stream parallel to one another, and made them fast on each side. These they bound firmly together by interweaving smaller ropes so close, as to form a compact piece of net-work, which being covered with brances of trees and earth, they passed along it with

i. c. 13, 14. Vega, lib. ix. c. 13. Bouguer Voyage, p. 105. Ulloa Entretenemientos, p. 365.

BOOK with tolerable fecurity . Proper persons were appointed to attend at each bridge, to keep them in repair, and to affift paffengers. In the level country, where the rivers became deep and broad and still, they are passed in Balzas, or floats; in the construction, as well as navigation of which, the ingenuity of the Peruvians appears to be far fuperior to that of any people in America. These had advanced no farther in naval skill than the use of the paddle, or oar; the Peruvians ventured to raife a mast, and spread a sail, by means of which their balzas not only went nimbly before the wind, but could veer and tack with great celerity z.

Mode of reore.

Nor were the ingenuity and art of the Perufining filver vians confined folely to objects of effential utility. They had made some progress in arts, which may be called elegant. They possessed the precious metal in greater abundance than any people of They obtained gold in the same man-America. ner with the Mexicans, by fearthing in the channels of rivers, or washing the earth in which particles of it were contained. But in order to procure filver, they exerted no inconfiderable degree of skill and invention. They had not, indeed, attained the art of finking a shaft into the bowels of the earth, and penetrating to the riches concealed there; but they hollowed deep caverns on the banks of rivers, and the fides of mountains, and emptied fuch veins as did not dip fuddenly beyond their reach. In other places, where the vein lay near the furface, they dug pits to fuch a depth, that the person who worked below could throw out the ore, or hand it up in baskets a. They

^{*} See NOTE XXXVI. y Sancho ap. Ram. iii. 376, B. Zarate, lib. i. c. 14. Vega, lib. iii. c. 7. 8. Herrera, dec. v. 2 Ulloa Voy. i. 167, &c. lib. iv. c. 3, 4. musio, iii. 414, A.

They had discovered the art of smelting and re-BOOK fining this, either by the simple application of fire, or where the ore was more stubborn, and impregnated with foreign substances, by placing it in small ovens or furnaces on high grounds, so artificially constructed, that the draught of air performed the function of a bellows, a machine with which they were totally unacquainted. By this simple device, the purer ores were smelted with fuch facility, that the quantity of filver in Peru was so considerable, that many of the utenfils employed in the functions of common life were made of it b. Several of those vessels and trinkets are faid to have merited no small degree of estimation, on account of the neatness of the workmanship, as well as the intrinsic value of the materials. But as the conquerors of America were well acquainted with the latter, but had fcarcely any conception of the former, most of them were melted down, and rated according to their weight and fineness in the division of the spoil.

In other works of mere curiofity, or ornament, Works of their ingenuity has been highly celebrated. Many elegance. of those have been dug out of the Guacas, or mounds of earth, with which they covered the bodies of the dead. Among these are mirrors of various dimensions, of hard shining stones highly polished; vessels of earthen ware of different forms; hatchets, and other inftruments, some destined for war, and others for labour. Some were of flint, some of copper, hardened to such a degree by an unknown process, as to supply the place of iron on several occasions. Had the use of these tools formed of copper been general, the progress of the Peruvians in the arts might have been fuch.

b Acosta, lib. iv. c. 4, 5. Vega, p. i. lib. viii. c. 25. Ulloa Entreten. 258.

VII.

BOOK fuch, as to emulate that of more cultivated nations. But either the metal was so rare, or the operation by which it was hardened fo tedious, that their instruments of copper were few, and so extremely small that they seem to have been employed only in flighter works. But even to fuch a circumscribed use of this imperfect metal, the Peruvians were indebted for their superiority to the other people of America in various arts. The same observation, however, may be applied to them, which I formerly made with respect to the arts of the Mexicans. From feveral specimens of Peruvian utenfils and ornaments, which were depofited in the royal cabinet in Madrid, and from fome preserved in different collections in other parts of Europe, I have reason to believe, that the workmanship is more to be admired on account of the rude tools with which it was executed, than on account of its intrinsic neatness and elegance, and that the Peruvians, though the most improved of all the Americans, were not advanced beyond the infancy of arts.

An impertion.

Cuzco.

Bur notwithstanding so many circumstances, feet civiliza- which feem to indicate an high degree of improvement in Peru, others occur that suggest the idea of a fociety still in the first stages of its transition from No cities but barbarism to civilization. In all the dominions of the Incas, Cuzco was the only place that had the appearance, or was entitled to the name of a city. Every where else, the people lived mostly in detached habitations, dispersed over the country, or, at the utmost, settled together in small villages d. But until men are brought to assemble in numerous bodies, and incorporated in fuch close union, as to enjoy frequent intercourse, and to feel mutual dependence, they never imbibe perfectly

c Ulloa Voy. tom. i. 381, &c. Id. Entreten. p. 369, &c. d Zarate, lib. i. c. o. Herrera, dec. v. lib. vi. c. 4.

fectly the spirit, or assume the manners of social BOOK life. In a country of immense extent, with only one city, the progress of manners, and the improvement either of the necessary or more refined arts, must have been so slow, and carried on under fuch disadvantages, that it is more surprising the Peruvians should have advanced so far in refinement, than that they did not proceed farther.

In consequence of this state of imperfect union, No perfect the separation of professions in Peru was not so professions. complete as among the Mexicans. The less closely men affociate, the more simple are their manners, and the fewer their wants. The crafts of common and most necessary use in life do not, in fuch a ftate, become fo complex or difficult, as to render it requifite that men should be trained to them by any particular course of education. All those professions were accordingly exercised by every Peruvian indifcriminately. None but the artifts, employed in works of mere curiofity or

ornament, constituted a separate order of men,

or were diffinguished from other citizens.

From the want of cities in Peru, another con-Little comfequence followed. There was little commercial mercial intercourse. intercourse among the inhabitants of that great empire. The activity of commerce is co-eval with the foundation of cities; and from the moment that the members of any community fettle in confiderable numbers in one place, its operations become vigorous. The citizen must depend for fublistence on the labour of those who cultivate the ground. They, in return, must receive some Vol. III. equivalent.

e Acosta, lib. vi. c. 15. Vega, lib. v. c. 9. Herrera, dec. v. lib. iv. c. 4.

BOO Kequivalent. Thus mutual intercourse is established, and the productions of art are regularly exchanged for the fruits of agriculture. In the towns of the Mexican empire, stated markets were held, and whatever could fupply any want or defire of man was an object of commerce. But in Peru, from the fingular mode of dividing property, and the manner in which the people were fettled, there was scarcely any species of commerce carried on between different provinces, and the community was less acquainted with that active intercourse, which is at once a bond of union, and an incentive to improvement.

Unwarlike fpirit of the

Bur the unwarlike spirit of the Peruvians was Peruvians. the most remarkable, as well as the most fatal defect in their characters. The greater part of the rude nations in America opposed their invaders with undaunted ferocity, though with little conduct or fuccess. The Mexicans maintained the struggle in defence of their liberties, with fuch persevering fortitude, that it was with difficulty the Spaniards triumphed over them. Peru was fubdued at once, and almost without resistance; and the most favourable opportunities of regaining their freedom, and crushing their oppressors, were lost through the timidity of the people. Though the traditional history of the Peruvians represents all the Incas as warlike princes, frequently at the head of armies which they led to victory and conquest; few symptoms of fuch a martial spirit appear in any of their operations subsequent to the invasion of the Spaniards. The influence, perhaps, of those institutions which

f Vega, lib. vi. c. 8. g Xerez, 190. Sancho ap Ram. iii. 372. Herrera, dec. v. lib. i. c. 3.

which rendered their manners gentle, gave their BOOK minds this unmanly foftness; perhaps, the confant ferenity and mildness of the climate may have enervated the vigour of their frame; perhaps, some principle in their government, unknown to us, was the occasion of this political debility. Whatever may have been the cause, the fact is certain, and there is not an instance in history of any people so little advanced in refinement, fo totally destitute of military talents and enterprize. This character hath descended to their posterity. The Indians of Peru are now more tame and depressed than any people of America. Their feeble spirits, relaxed in lifeless inaction, feem hardly capable of any bold or manly exertion.

But, besides those capital defects in the political state of Peru, some detached circumstances and facts occur in the Spanish writers which discover a considerable remainder of barbarity in their manners. The same cruel custom, that prevailed in some of the most savage tribes, subfisted among the Peruvians. On the death of the Incas, and of other eminent persons, a considerable number of their attendants were put to death, and interred around their Guaca, that they might appear in the next world with their former dignity, and be ferved with the same respect. On the death of Huana-Capac, the most powerful of their monarchs, above a thousand victims were doomed to accompany him to the tomb h. In one particular, their manners appear to have been more barbarous than those of most rude Though acquainted with the use of fire in preparing maize, and other vegetables for food; they devoured both flesh and fish perfectly raw, N2

BOOK and aftonished the Spaniards, with a practice repugnant to the ideas of all civilized people i.

Other dominions of Spain in America.

But though Mexico and Peru are the possessions of Spain in the New World, which, on account both of their ancient and present state, have attracted the greatest attention; her other dominions there are far from being inconsiderable, either in extent or value. Most of them were reduced to subjection during the first part of the fixteenth century, by private adventurers, who fitted out their small armaments either in Hispaniola, or in Old Spain, and were we to follow each leader in his progress, we should discover the same daring courage, the same persevering ardour, the same rapacious desire of wealth, and the same capacity of enduring and surmounting every thing in order to attain it, which diffinguished the operations of the Spaniards in their greater American conquests. But, instead of entering into a detail, which, from the fimilarity of the transactions, would appear almost a repetition of what has been already related, I shall fatisfy my-A brief fur- felf with fuch a view of those provinces of the vey of them. Spanish empire in America, which have not hitherto been mentioned, as may convey to my readers a more adequate idea of its greatness, fer-

tility, and opulence.

Such as are adjacent to the empire of Mexico.

I BEGIN with the countries contiguous to the two great monarchies, of whose history and institutions I have given some account, and shall then briefly describe the other districts of Spanish The jurisdiction of the viceroy of New America. Spain extends over feveral provinces, which were not subject to the dominion of the Mexicans. Cinaloa and The countries of Cinaloa and Sonora, that stretch Sonora, &cc. along the east side of the Vermilion sea, or gulf

i Xerez, p. 190. Sancho, Ram. iii. 372. C. Herrera, dec. v. lib. i. c. 3.

of

of California, as well as the immense kingdoms BOOK of New Navarre and New Mexico, which bend towards the west and north, did not acknowledge the fovereignty of Montezuma, or his predeceffors. These regions, not inferior in magnitude to all the Mexican empire, are reduced more or less completely under the Spanish yoke. They extend. through the most delightful part of the temperate zone; their foil is, in general, remarkably fertile, and all their productions, whether animal or vegetable, are most perfect in their kind. They have all a communication either with the Pacific Ocean, or with the Gulf of Mexico, and are watered by fuch rivers as not only enrich them, but may become subservient to commerce. number of Spaniards fettled in those vast countries, is indeed extremely small. They may be faid to have subdued, rather than to have occupied But if the population in their ancient establishments in America shall continue to increase, they may gradually spread over those districts, of which, however inviting, they have not hitherto been able to take possession.

ONE circumstance may contribute to the speedy Rich mines. population of some districts. Very rich mines both of gold and filver have been discovered in many of the regions which I have mentioned. Wherever these are opened, and worked with fuccess, a multitude of people resort. In order to supply them with the necessaries of life, cultivation must be increased, artisans of various kinds must assemble, and industry as well as wealth will be gradually diffused. Many examples of this have occurred in different parts of America fince they fell under the dominion of the Spaniards. Populous villages and large towns have fuddenly arisen amidst uninhabited wilds and mountains; and the working of mines, though far from being the most proper object towards which

VII.

A recent and remarkable difcovery.

BOOK which the attention of an infant fociety should be turned, may become the means both of promoting useful activity, and of augmenting the number of people. A recent and fingular instance of this has happened, which, as it is but little known in Europe, and may be productive of great effects, merits attention. The Spaniards fettled in the provinces of Cinaloa and Sonora, had been long diffurbed by the depredations of some fierce tribes of Indians. In the year 1765, their incursions became so frequent, and so destructive, that the inhabitants, in despair, applied to the Marquis de Croix, viceroy of Mexico, for fuch a body of troops as might enable them to drive those formidable invaders from their places of retreat in the mountains. But the treasury of Mexico was fo much exhausted by the vast sums drawn from it, in order support the late war against Great Britain, that the viceroy could afford them no aid. The respect due to his virtues, accomplished what his official power could not effect. He prevailed with the merchants to advance about two hundred thousand pelos for defraying the expence of the expedition. The war was conducted by an officer of abilities; and after being protracted for three years, chiefly by the difficulty of pursuing the fugitives over mountains and through defiles which were almost impassable, it terminated in the year 1771, in the final submission of the tribes, which had been fo long the object of terror to the two provinces. In the course of this fervice, the Spaniards marched through countries into which they feem not to have penetrated before that time, and discovered mines of such value, as was aftonishing even to men acquainted with the riches contained in the mountains of the New World. At Cineguilla, in the province of Sonora, they entered a plain of fourteen leagues in extent, in which they found gold in grains, at

the depth of only fixteen inches, of fuch a fize, BOOK that some of them weighed nine marks, and in fuch quantities, that in a short time, with a few labourers, they collected a thousand marks of gold in grains, even without taking time to wash the earth that had been dug, which appeared to be so rich, that persons of skill computed that it might yield what would be equal in value to a million of pefos. Before the end of the year 1771, Probable above two thousand persons were settled in Cine-effects of guilla, under the government of proper magistrates, and the inspection of several ecclesiaftics. As feveral other mines, not inferior in riches to that of Cineguilla, have been discovered, both in Sonora and Cinaloak, it is probable that these neglected and thinly inhabited provinces, may foon become as populous and valuable as any part of the Spanish empire in America.

THE Peninsula of California on the other side California, of the Vermillion sea, seems to have been less its state, known to the ancient Mexicans, than the provinces which I have mentioned. It was discovered by Cortes in the year 1536 (Book V. p. 173). During a long period it continued to be so little frequented, that even its form was unknown, and in most charts it was represented as an island, not as a peninfula! Though the climate of this country, if we may judge from its fituation, must be very defirable; the Spaniards have made small progress in peopling it. Towards the close of the last century, the Jesuits, who had great merit in exploring this neglected province, and in civilizing its rude inhabitants, imperceptibly acquired a dominion over it as complete as that which they possessed in their missions in Paraguay, and

BOOK and they laboured to introduce into it the same policy, and to govern the natives by the fame maxims. In order to prevent the court of Spain from conceiving any jealousy of their designs and operations, they feem fludiously to have depreciated the country, by representing the climate as fo difagreeable and unwholesome, and the soil as so barren, that nothing but their zealous defire of converting the natives, could have induced them to fettle there m. Several public-spirited-citizens endeavoured to undeceive their fovereigns, and to and probabi-vain. At length, on the expulsion of the Jesuits lity of its

improveing.

give them a better view of California; but in from the Spanish dominions, the court of Madrid, as prone at that juncture to suspect the purity of the Order's intentions, as formerly to confide in them with implicit trust, appointed Don Joseph Galvez, whose abilities have fince raised him to the high rank of minister for the Indies, to visit that peninsula. His account of the country was favourable; he found the pearl fishery on its coasts to be valuable, and discovered mines of gold of a very promising appearance n. From its vicinity to Cinaloa and Sonora, it is probable, that if the population of these provinces shall increase in the manner which I have supposed. California may, by degrees, receive from them fuch a recruit of inhabitants, as to be no longer reckoned among the defolate and useless diffricts of the Spanish empire.

Vucatan and Honduras.

On the east of Mexico, Yucatan and Honduras are comprehended in the government of New Spain, though anciently they can hardly be faid to have formed a part of the Mexican empire. These large provinces, stretching from the Bay of Campeachy beyond Cape Gracias a Dios, do not,

m Venegas Hift. of California, i. 26. n Lorenzano, 349, 350.

like the other territories of Spain in the New BOOK World, derive their value either from the fertility of their foil, or the richness of their mines, but they yield in greater abundance, than any part of America, the logwood tree, which, in dying some colours, is so far preferable to any other material, that the confumption of it in Europe is confiderable, and it has become an article in commerce of great value. During a long period, no European nation intruded upon the Spaniards in those provinces, or attempted to obtain any share in this branch of trade. But after the conquest of Jamaica by the English, it soon appeared what a formidable rival was now feated in the neighbourhood of the Spanish territories. One of the first objects that tempted the English, was the great profit arising from the logwood trade, and the facility of wresting some portion of it from the Spaniards. Some adventurers from Jamaica Their demade the first attempt at Cape Catoche, the fouth-cline, east promontory of Yucatan, and by cutting logwood there, carried on a gainful traffic. most of the trees near the coast in that place were felled, they removed to the island of Trist, in the Bay of Campeachy; and in latter times, their principal station has been in the Bay of Honduras. The Spaniards, alarmed at this encroachment, endeavoured by negociation, remonstrances, and open force, to prevent the English from obtaining any footing on that part of the American continent. But after struggling against it for more than a century, the disasters of last war extorted from the court of Madrid a reluctant consent to tolerate this fettlement of foreigners in the heart of its territories o. The pain which this humbling concession occasioned, seems to have suggested a method of rendering it of little consequence,

more

BOOK more effectual than all the efforts of negociation or violence. The logwood produced on the west coast of Yucatan, where the foil is drier, is in quality far fuperior to that which grows on marfhy and revival grounds where the English are settled. By encouraging the cutting of this, and permitting the importation of it into Spain without paying any duty P, fuch vigour has been given to this declining branch of commerce, and the logwood which the English bring to market has funk so much in value, that their trade to the Bay of Honduras has gradually declined q fince it obtained a legal fanction; and, it is probable, will foon be finally abandoned. In that event, the provinces of Yucatan and Honduras will become possessions of considerable importance to Spain.

Costa Rica and Veragua. STILL farther east than Honduras lie the two provinces of Costa Rica and Veragua, which likewise belong to the vice-royalty of New Spain; but both have been so much neglected by the Spaniards, and are apparently of such small value, that they merit no particular attention.

Chili.

The most important province depending on the vice-royalty of Peru, is Chili. The Incas had established their dominion in some of its southern districts; but in the greater part of the country, its gallant and high-spirited inhabitants maintained their independence. The Spaniards, allured by the same of its opulence, early attempted the conquest of it under Diego Almagro; and after his death, Pedro de Valdivia resumed the design. Both met with sierce opposition. The former relinquished the enterprize in the manner which I have mentioned. The latter after hav-

ing

P Real Cedula, Campomanes, iii. 145.

9 See NOTE XXXIX. r Book vi. p. 49, &c.

ing given many displays, both of courage and BOOK military skill, was cut off with a considerable body of troops under his command. Francisco de Villagra, his lieutenant, by his spirited conduct, checked the natives in their career, and saved the remainder of the Spaniards from destruction. By degrees, all the champaign country along the coast was subjected to the Spanish dominion. The mountainous country is still possessed by the Puelches, Araucos, and other tribes of its original inhabitants, formidable neighbours to the Spaniards; with whom, during the course of two centuries, they have been obliged to maintain perpetual hostility, suspended only by a few intervals of insecure peace.

THAT part of Chili then, which may properly Excellence be deemed a Spanish province, is a narrow dif-mate and trict, extending along the coast from the desert foil. of Atacamas to the island of Chiloe, above nine hundred miles. Its climate is the most delicious of the New World, and is hardly equalled by that of any region on the face of the earth. Though bordering on the Torrid Zone, it never feels the extremity of heat, being screened on the east by the Andes, and refreshed from the west by cooling sea-breezes. The temperature of the air is fo mild and equable, that the Spaniards give it the preference to that of the fouthern provinces in their native country. The fertility of the foil corresponds with the benignity of the climate, and is wonderfully accommodated to European productions. The most valuable of these, corn, wine and, oil, abound in Chili, as if they had been native to the country. All the fruits imported from Europe attain to full maturity there. The animals of our hemisphere not only multiply, but improve in this delightful region. The horned cattle are of larger fize than those

of

BOOK of Spain. Its breed of horses surpasses, both in beauty and in spirit, the samous Andalusian race, from which they sprung. Nor has nature exhausted her bounty on the surface of the earth; she has stored its bowels with riches. Valuable mines of gold, of silver, of copper, and of lead, have been discovered in various parts of it.

Cause of its being neglected by the Spaniards.

A COUNTRY distinguished by so many blessings, we may be apt to conclude, would early become a favourite station of the Spaniards, and must have been cultivated with peculiar predilection and care. Instead of this, a great part of it remains unoccupied. In all this extent of country, there are not above eighty thousand white inhabitants, and about three times that number of negroes and people of a mixed race. The most fertile foil in America lies uncultivated, and fome of its most promising mines remain unwrought. Strange as this neglect of the Spaniards to avail themselves of advantages, which seemed to court their acceptance, may appear, the causes of it can be traced. The only intercourse of Spain with its colonies in the South Sea, was carried on during two centuries by the annual fleet to Porto-bello. All the produce of the colonies were shipped in the ports of Callao, or Arica in Peru, for Panama, and carried from thence across the ifthmus. All the commodities which they received from the mother-country, were conveyed from Panama to the same harbours. Thus both the exports and imports of Chili passed through the hands of the merchants of Peru. These had of course a profit on each; and in both transactions the Chilese felt their own subordination; and having no direct intercourse with the parent state, they depended upon another province for the disposal of their productions, as well as for the supply of their wants. Under fuch discouragements, population

tion could not increase, and industry was desti- BOOK tute of one chief incitement. But now that Spain, from motives which I shall mention hereafter, has Prospect of adopted a new system, and carries on her com- its improvemerce with the colonies in the South Sea, by ships ment. which go round Cape Horn, a direct intercourse is opened between Chili and the Mother-country. The gold, the filver, and the other commodities of the province will be exchanged in its own harbours for the manufactures of Europe. Chili may speedily rise into that importance among the Spanish settlements to which it is entitled by its natural advantages. It may become the granary of Peru, and the other provinces along the Pacific Ocean; it may supply them with wine, with cattle, with horses, with hemp, and many other articles for which they now depend upon Europe. Though the new system has been established only a few years, those effects of it begin already to be observed. If it shall be adhered to with any fleadiness for half a century, one may venture to foretell, that population, industry and opulence will advance in this province with rapid progress.

To the east of the Andes, the provinces of Provinces of Tucuman and Rio de la Plata, border on Chili, Tucuman and Rio de and like it were dependent on the vice-royalty of la Plata. Peru. These regions of immense extent stretch Northern in length from north to fouth above thirteen hun-and fouthern division. dred miles, and in breadth more than a thousand. This country, which is larger than most European kingdoms, naturally forms itself into two great divisions, one on the north, and the other on the fouth of Rio de la Plata. The former comprehends Paraguay, the famous missions of the Jefuits, and several other districts. But as disputes have long subsisted between the courts of Spain

* Campomanes, ii. 157.

BOOK and Portugal, concerning its boundaries, which, it is probable, will be foon finally afcertained, either amicably, or by the decision of the sword, I chuse to referve my account of this northern division, until I enter upon the history of Portuguele America, with which it is intimately connected; and, in relating it, I shall be able from authentic materials, supplied both by Spain and Portugal, to give a full and accurate description of the operations and views of the Jesuits, in rearing that fingular fabric of policy in America, which has drawn fo much attention, and has been fo imperfectly understood. The latter division of the province contains the governments of Tucuman and Buenos-Ayres, and to these I shall at present confine my observations.

View of the

THE Spaniards entered this part of America by the river De la Plata, and though a fuccession of cruel difafters befell them in their early attempts to establish their dominion there, they were encouraged to perfift in the defign, at first by the hopes of discovering mines in the interior country, and afterwards by the necessity of occupying it, in order to prevent any other nation from fettling there, and penetrating by this route into their rich possessions in Peru. But except Buenos-Ayres, they have made no fettlement of any confequence in all the vaft space which I have mentioned. There are, indeed, scattered over it, a few places on which they have bestowed the name of towns, and to which they have endeavoured to add some dignity, by erecting them into bishopricks; but they are no better than paltry villages, each with two or three hundred inhabitants. One circumstance, however, which was not originally foreseen, has contributed to render this district, though thinly peopled, of considerable importance. The province of Tucuman, together with the country to the fouth of the Plata, instead of being

being covered with wood like other parts of Ameri-BOOK ca, forms one vast open plain, almost without a tree. The foil is a deep fertile mold, watered by many streams descending from the Andes, and clothed in perpetual verdure. In this rich pasturage, the horses and cattle imported by the Spaniards from Europe have multiplied to a degree which almost exceeds belief. This has enabled the inhabitants not only to open a lucrative trade with Peru, by fupplying it with cattle, horses, and mules, but to carry on a commerce no less beneficial, by the exportation of hides to Europe. From both the colony has derived great advantages. But its commodious fituation for carrying on contraband trade, has been the chief fource of its prosperity. While the court of Madrid adhered to its ancient fystem, with respect to its communication with America, the river De la Plata lay so much out of the course of Spanish navigation, that interlopers, almost without any risque of either being observed or obstructed, could pour in European manufactures in fuch quantities, that they not only fupplied the wants of the colony, but were conveyed into all the eaftern diffricts of Peru. When the Portuguese in Brasil extended their settlements to the banks of Rio de la Plata, a new channel was opened, by which prohibited commodities flowed into the Spanish territories, with still more facility, and in greater abundance. This illegal traffic, however detrimental to the parent state, contributed to the increase of the settlement, which had the immediate benefit of it, and Buenos Ayres became gradually a populous and opulent town. What may be the effect of the alteration lately made in the government of this colony, the nature of which shall be described in the subsequent Book, cannot hitherto be known.

VII. Other territories of Spain.

BOOK ALL the other territories of Spain in the New World, the islands excepted, of whose discovery and reduction I have formerly given an account, are comprehended under two great divisions; the former denominated the kingdom Tierra Firme, the provinces of which stretch along the Atlantic, from the eastern frontier of New Spain to the mouth of the Orinoco; the latter, the New Kingdom of Granada, fituated in the interior country. With a short view of these I shall close this part of my work.

Darien.

To the east of Veragua, the last province subject to the viceroy of Mexico, lies the ifthmus of Darien. Though it was in this part of the continent, that the Spaniards first began to plant colonies, they have made no confiderable progress in peopling it. As the country is extremely mountainous, deluged with rain during a good part of the year, remarkably unhealthful, and contains no mines of great value, they would probably have abandoned it altogether, if they had not been allured to continue by the excellence of the harbour of Porto-bello on the one sea, and that of Panama on the other. These have been called the keys to the communication between the north and fouth fea, between Spain and her most valuable colonies. In confequence of this advantage, Panama has become a confiderable and thriving town. The peculiar noxiousness of its climate has prevented Porto-bello from increasing in the same proportion. As the intercourse with the fettlements in the Pacific Ocean, is now carried on by another channel, it is probable that both Porto-bello and Panama will decline, when no longer nourished and enriched by that commerce, to which they were indebted for their prosperity, and even their existence.

THE

THE provinces of Carthagena and Santa Mar- BOOK tha, stretch to the eastward of the isthmus of Darien. The country still continues mountainous, Carthagena but its vallies begin to expand, are well watered, and Santa and extremely fertile. Pedro de Heredia subjected this part of America to the crown of Spain, about the year 1532. It is thinly peopled, and of course ill cultivated. It produces, however, a variety of valuable drugs, and fome precious stones, particularly emeralds. But its chief importance is derived from the harbour of Carthagena, the fafest and best fortified of any in the American dominions of Spain. In a fituation fo favourable, commerce foon began to flourish. As early as the year 1544, it feems to have been a town of fome note. But when Carthagena was chosen as the port in which the galeons should first begin to trade on their arrival from Europe, and to which they were directed to return, in order to prepare for their voyage homeward, the commerce of its inhabitants was fo much favoured by this arrangement, that it foon became one of the most populous, opulent, and beautiful cities in There is, however, reason to appre-America. hend, that it has reached its highest point of exaltation, and that it will be so far affected by the change in the Spanish system of trade with America, which has withdrawn from it the desirable visits of the galeons, as to feel at least a temporary decline. But the wealth now collected there. must find or create employment for itself, and may be turned with advantage into fome new channel. Its harbour is fo fafe, and fo conveniently fituated for receiving commodities from Europe, its merchants have been fo long accuftomed to convey these into all the adjacent provinces, that it is probable they will still retain this branch of trade, and Carthagena continue to be a city of great importance.

VOL. III.

THE

HISTORY OF AMERICA.

BOOK VIII. t

THE province contiguous to Santa Martha on the east, was first visited by Alonso de Ojeda, in the year 1499 t; and the Spaniards, on their landing there, having observed some huts in an Indian village built upon piles, in order to raise them above the stagnated water which covered the plain, were led to bestow upon it the name of Venezuela, or little Venice, by their usual propenfity to find a resemblance, between what they discovered in America, and the objects which were familiar to them in Europe. They made some attempts to fettle there, but with little fuccess. The final reduction of the province was accomplished by means very different from those to which Spain was indebted for its other acquisitions in the New The ambition of Charles V. often engaged him in operations of fuch variety and extent, that his revenues were not fufficient to defray the expence of carrying them into execution. Among other expedients for supplying the deficiency of his funds, he had borrowed large fums from the Vellers of Augsburgh, the most opulent merchants at that time in Europe. By way of retribution for these, or in hopes, perhaps, of obtaining a new loan, he bestowed upon them the province of Venezuela, to be held as an hereditary fief of the crown of Castile, on condition that within a limited time they should render themselves masters of the country, and establish a colony there. Under the direction of fuch persons, it might have been expected, that a settlement would have been established on maxims very different from those of the Spaniards, and better calculated to encourage fuch useful industry, as they might have known to be the only certain fource of prosperity and opulence. But unfortunately they committed the execution of their plan, to some of those soldiers of

of fortune with which Germany abounded in the BOOK fixteenth century. These adventurers, impatient to amass riches, that they might speedily abandon a station which they foon discovered to be very uncomfortable, instead of planting a colony that might have cultivated and improved the country, wandered from diffrict to diffrict in search of mines, plundering the natives with unfeeling rapacity, or oppressing them by the imposition of intolerable talks. In the course of a few years, their avarice and exactions, in comparison with which those of the Spaniards were moderate, defolated the province fo completely, that it could hardly afford them subsistence, and the Velsers relinquished a property, from which the inconsiderate conduct of their agents left them no hope of ever deriving any advantage u. When the wretched remainder of the Germans deferted Venezuela, the Spaniards again took possession of it; but, notwithstanding many natural advantages, it is one of their most languishing and unproductive fettlements.

The provinces of Caraccas and Cumana are Caraccas and the last of the Spanish territories on this coast; but in relating the origin and operations of the mercantile company, in which an exclusive right of trade with them has been vested, I shall hereafter have occasion to consider their state and productions.

THE New Kingdom of Granada is entirely an New kinginland country of vast extent. This important dom of Graaddition was made to the dominions of Spain about the year 1536, by Sebastian de Benalcazar and Gonzalo Ximenes de Quesada, two of the bravest and most accomplished officers employed

u Oviedo y Bagnos Hist. de Venezuela, p. 11, &c.

VII. commanded at that time in Quito, attacked it from the fouth; the latter made his invalion from Santa Martha on the north. As the original inhabitants of this region were farther advanced in improvement, than any people in America but the Mexicans and Peruvians*, they defended themselves with great resolution and good conduct. The abilities and perseverance of Benalcazar and Quesada surmounted all opposition, though not without encountering many dangers, and reduced the country into the form of a Spanish province.

THE New Kingdom of Granada is so far elevated above the level of the fea, that though it approaches almost to the equator, the climate is remarkably temperate. The fertility of its vallies is not inferior to that of the richest districts in America, and its higher grounds yield gold and precious stones of various kinds. It is not by digging into the bowels of the earth that this gold is found; it is mingled with the foil near the furface. and separated from it by repeated washing with water. This operation is carried on wholly by negroe flaves; for though the chill subterranean air has been discovered, by experience, to be so fatal to them, that they cannot be employed in the deep filver mines, they are more capable of performing the other species of labour than Indians. As the natives in the New Kingdom of Granada are exempt from that fervice, which has wasted their race so rapidly in other parts of America, it is remarkably populous. Some diffricts yield gold with a profusion no less wonderful than that in the vale of Cineguilla, which I have formerly mentioned, and it is often found in pepitas, or grains,

which manifest the abundance in which it is pro-BOOK duced. On a rifing ground near Pamplona, fingle labourers have collected in a day what was equal in value to a thousand pesos y. A late governor of Santa Fé brought with him to Spain a lump of virgin gold, estimated to be worth seven hundred and forty pounds sterling. But without founding any calculation on what is rare and extraordinary, the value of the gold usually collected in this country, particularly in the provinces of Popayan and Choco, is of confiderable amount. Its towns are populous and flourishing. The number of inhabitants in almost every part of the country daily increases. Cultivation and industry of various kinds begin to be encouraged, and to prosper. A considerable trade is carried on with Carthagena, the produce of the mines, and other commodities, being conveyed down the great river of St. Magdalen to that city. On another quarter, the New Kingdom of Granada has a communication with the Atlantic by the river Orinoco: but the country which stretches along its banks towards the east, is little known, and imperfectly occupied by the Spaniards.

y Piedrahita Hift. del N. Reyno, p. 481; MS. penes me.

HISTORY OF AMERICA.

A GI

Ox O Car cong at at 1884 of constantial and fieldings that w dical. On a filing grownd near Bamplonar finric abouters have collected in a day what was could a value to a thouland peles h. A late gosemon of Same he brought with him to Span a Lamp of virgin gold, efficiented to be worth feven hundred and forty poulds Recling. I ar without to the any care lation or what is care and we to qualitary, the value) of the gold invally collects ed in this country, by the lightly in the pigamers of Post and Choos, is of confiderable amount. icatowns are populous and flourishing I in auris ber of inhabitants in abnort everyoppiers of the country daily increases. Calcivation and industry of Sanous Einds begin to he encounaged, and to Supposed the produce of the mines, and other commissiones, being conveyed nown the great river of St. Magdales to that city. On another contents all the tenth of Cramada has a content against the five Onhave the country which firetones along his books towards the eart, as first known, and imperfectly occupied by the Spaniards.

Arrange Mile III Carrell P. 481 MS. published to is the party with they bear to the contract of the contract of

the first rate of the last tree, which is the As the agence in the best way to an inches the con-

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA.

BOOK VIII.

AFTER tracing the progress of the Spaniards in their discoveries and conquests during more than half a century, I have conducted them to that period when their authority was established over almost all the vast regions in the New World spanish co-spanish co-spanish co-spanish co-spanish co-spanish co-spanish the maxims which they adopted in forming their new colonies, the interior structure and policy of these, together with the influence of their progressive improvement upon the parent state, and the commercial intercourse of nations, are the objects to which we now turn our attention, and they are no less interesting than important.

THE first visible consequence of the establish- Depopulation ments made by the Spaniards in America, was the of America diminution of them.

BOOK diminution of the ancient inhabitants, to a degree equally aftonishing and deplorable. I have already, on different occasions, mentioned the difastrous influence under which the connection of the Americans with the people of our hemisphere commenced, both in the islands, and in several parts of the continent, and have touched upon various causes of their rapid consumption. Whereever the inhabitants of America had resolution to take arms in defence of their liberty and rights, many perished in the unequal contest, and were cut off by their fierce invaders. But the greatest desolation followed after the sword was sheathed, and the conquerors were fettled in tranquillity. Causes of this It was in the islands, and in those provinces of

continent.

in the islands the continent which stretch from the Gulf of Triparts of the nidad to the confines of Mexico, that the fatal effects of the Spanish dominion were first and most sensibly felt. All these were occupied either by wandering tribes of hunters, or by fuch as had made but small progress in cultivation and industry. When they were compelled by their new mafters to take up a fixed residence, and to apply to regular labour; when tasks were imposed upon them disproportioned to their strength, and were exacted with unrelenting feverity; they poffessed not vigour either of mind or of body to fustain this unusual load of oppression. Dejection and despair drove many to end their lives by violence. Fatigue and famine destroyed more. In all those extensive regions, the original race of inhabitants waited away; in fome it was totally extinguished. In Mexico, where a powerful and martial people diffinguished their opposition to the Spaniards, by efforts of courage worthy of a better fate, great numbers fell in the field; and there, as well as in Peru, still greater numbers perished under the hardships of attending the Spanish armies in their various expeditions and civil wars, worn

out with the incessant toil of carrying their bag-BOOK gage, provisions, and military stores.

Bur neither the rage nor cruelty of the Spa- In New niards were so destructive to the people of Mexico Spain and and Peru, as the inconfiderate policy with which they established their new settlements. The former were temporary calamities, fatal to individuals; the latter was a permanent evil, which, with gradual confumption, wasted the nation. When the provinces of Mexico and Peru were divided among the conquerors, each was eager to obtain a district, from which he might expect an instantaneous recompence for all his services. Bold adventurers, accustomed to the carelessness and diffipation of a military life, had neither industry to carry on any plan of regular cultivation, nor patience to wait for its flow, but certain returns. Instead of settling in the vallies occupied by the natives, where the fertility of the foil would have amply rewarded the diligence of the planter, they chose to fix their stations in some of the mountainous regions, frequent both in New Spain and in Peru. To fearch for mines of gold and filver, was the chief object of their activity. The vast prospects which this opens, and the alluring hopes which it continually prefents, correspond wonderfully with the spirit of enterprize and adventure that animated the first emigrants to America in every part of their conduct. In order to push forward those favourite projects, so many hands were wanted, that the fervice of the natives became indispensably requisite. They were, accordingly, compelled to abandon their ancient habitations in the plains, and driven in crowds to the mountains. This fudden transition from the fultry climate of the vallies, to the chill penetrating air peculiar to high lands in the torrid zone; the faBOOK tigue of exorbitant labour, scanty or unwholesome nourishment, and the despondency occasioned by a species of oppression to which they were not accultomed, and of which they faw no end, affected them nearly as much as their less industrious countrymen in the islands. They funk under the united pressure of those calamities, and melted away with almost equal rapidity 2. In consequence of this, together with the introduction of the smallpox, a malady unknown in America, and extremely fatal to the natives a, the number of people both in New Spain and Peru was fo much reduced, that in a few years the accounts of their ancient population appeared almost incredible b.

Not the refult of any licy;

Such are the most considerable events and fyshem of po- causes, which, by their combined operation, contributed to depopulate America. Without attending to these, many authors, astonished at the fuddenness of the desolation, have ascribed this unexampled event to a scheme of policy no less profound than atrocious. The Spaniards, as they pretend, conscious of their own inability to occupy the vast regions which they had discovered, and forefeeing the impollibility of maintaining their authority over a people infinitely superior to themfelves in number, in order to preserve America, resolved to exterminate the inhabitants, and by converting it into a defart, endeavoured to fecure their own dominion over it c. But nations feldom extend their views to objects fo remote, or lay their plans so deep; and, for the honour of humanity, we may observe, that no nation ever deliberately formed fuch an execrable scheme. The Spanish monarchs,

z Torquemada, i. 613. a B. Diaz, c. 124. Herquem. 615. 642, 643. See NOTE XL. NOTE XLI. Ulloa Entreten, 206. b Torc See

monarchs, far from acting upon any fuch fystem BOOK of destruction, were uniformly solicitous for the preservation of their new subjects. With Isabella, zeal for propagating the christian faith, and the defire of communicating the knowledge of truth, and the confolations of religion, to people destitute of spiritual light, were more than oftensible motives for encouraging Columbus to attempt his discoveries. Upon his success, she endeavoured to fulfil her pious purpose, and manifested the most tender concern to fecure not only religious instruction, but mild treatment, to that inoffensive race of men subjected to her crown 4. Her succeffors adopted the fame ideas; and, on many occasions, which I have mentioned, their authority was interposed in the most vigorous exertions, to protect the people of America from the oppresfion of their Spanish subjects. Their regulations for this purpose were numerous, and often repeated. They were framed with wisdom, and dictated by humanity. After their possessions in the New World became so extensive, as might have excited some apprehensions of difficulty in retaining their dominion over them, the spirit of their regulations was as mild as when their fettlements were confined to the islands alone. Their folicitude to protect the Indians feems rather to have augmented as their acquisitions increased; and from ardour to accomplish this, they enacted, and endeavoured to enforce the execution of laws, which excited a formidable rebellion in one of their colonies, and spread alarm and disaffection through all the reft. But the avarice of individuals was too violent to be controuled by the authority of laws. Rapacious and daring adventurers, far re-

d See NOTE XLII.

moved from the feat of government, little ac-

customed

BOOK customed to the restraints of military discipline while in service, and still less disposed to respect the feeble jurisdiction of civil power in an infant colony, despised or eluded every regulation that fet bounds to their exactions and tyranny. The parent state, with persevering attention, issued edicts to prevent the oppression of the Indians; the colonists, regardless of these, or trusting to their distance for impunity, continued to consider, and treat them as flaves. The governors themfelves, and other officers employed in the colonies, several of whom were as indigent and rapacious as the adventurers over whom they prefided, were too apt to adopt their contemptuous ideas of the conquered people; and, instead of checking, encouraged or connived at their exceffes. The desolation of the New World should not then be charged on the court of Spain, or be confidered as the effect of any system of policy adopted there. It ought to be imputed wholly to the conquerors and first planters of America, who, by measures no less inconsiderate than unjust, counteracted the edicts of their fovereign, and have brought difgrace upon their country.

nor the effect of religion.

WITH still greater injustice, have many authors represented the intolerating spirit of the Roman Catholic religion, as the cause of exterminating the Americans, and have accused the Spanish ecclesiastics of animating their countrymen to the slaughter of that innocent people, as idolaters and enemies of God. But the first missionaries who visited America, though weak and illiterate, were pious men. They early espoused the desence of the natives, and vindicated their character from the aspersions of their conquerors, who, describing them as incapable of being formed to the offices of civil life, or of comprehending the doctrines of religion, contended, that they were a sub-

a subordinate race of men, on whom the hand of BOOK nature had fet the mark of fervitude. From the accounts which I have given of the humane and persevering zeal of the Spanish missionaries, in protecting the helpless flock committed to their charge, they appeare in a light which reflects lustre upon their function. They were ministers of peace, who endeavoured to wrest the rod from the hands of oppressors. To their powerful interpolition, the Americans were indebted for every regulation tending to mitigate the rigour of their fate. The clergy in the Spanish settlements, regular as well as fecular, are still confidered by the Indians as their natural guardians, to whom they have recourse under the hardships and exactions to which they are too often exposed .

Bur, notwithstanding the rapid depopulation The number of America, a very considerable number of the of Indians native race still remains both in Mexico and Pe-ing. ru, especially in those parts which were not exposed to the first fury of the Spanish arms, or defolated by the first efforts of their industry, still more ruinous. In Guatimala, Chiapa, Nicaragua, and the other delightful provinces of the Mexican empire that stretch along the fouth-sea, the race of Indians is still numerous. Their fettlements in fome places are fo populous, as to merit the name of cities. In the three audiences into which New Spain is divided, there are at least two millions of Indians; a pitiful remnant, indeed, of its ancient population, but such as still forms a body of people superior in number to that of all the other inhabitants of this vast country . In Peru several districts, particularly in the kingdom of Quito, are occupied almost entirely by Indians. In other provinces, they are mingled

e See NOTE XLIII. f See NOTE XLIV. g See NOTE XLIV.

BOOK with the Spaniards, and in many of their fettlements practife the mechanic arts, and fill most of the inferior stations in society. As the inhabitants, both of Mexico and Peru were accustomed to a fixed residence, and to some degree of regular industry, less violence was requisite in bringing them to some conformity with the European modes of civil life. But wherever the Spaniards fettled among the favage tribes of America, their attempts to incorporate with them have been always fruitless, and often fatal to the natives. Impatient of restraint, and disdaining labour as a mark of fervility, they either abandoned their original feats, and fought for independance in mountains and forests inaccessible to their oppresfors, or perished when reduced to a state repugnant to their ancient ideas and habits. districts adjacent to Carthagena, to Panama, and to Buenos-Ayres, the defolation is more general than even in those parts of Mexico and Peru, of

General idea of Spain in

fion.

Bur the establishments of the Spaniards in the of the policy New World, though fatal to its ancient inhabiits colonies. tants, were made at a period when that monarchy was capable of forming them to best advantage. By the union of all its petty kingdoms, Spain was become a powerful state, equal to so great an undertaking. Its monarchs, having extended their prerogative far beyond the limits which once circumscribed the regal power in every kingdom of Europe, were hardly subject to controul, either in concerting, or in executing their measures. In every wide extended empire, the form of government must be simple, and the authority of the sovereign absolute; that his resolutions may be taken with promptitude, and pervade the whole with undiminished force. Such was the power of the Spanish monarchs.

which the Spaniards have taken most full posses-

VIII.

monarchs, when they were called to deliberate con- BOOK cerning the mode of establishing their dominion over the most remote provinces, that had ever been fubjected to any European state. In this deliberation, they felt themselves under no constitutional restraint, and that as independent masters of their own resolves, they might iffue the edicts requisite for modelling the government of the new colonies, by a mere act of prerogative.

in order to regulate the policy and trade of its co- the regalaulonies, is a peculiarity which distinguishes their thority. progress from that of the colonies of any other European nation. When the Portuguese, the English, and French, took possession of those regions in America which they now occupy, the advantages which they promifed to yield were fo remote and uncertain, that they were fuffered to struggle through a hard infancy, almost without guidance or protection from the parent state. But gold and filver, the first productions of the Spanish settlements in the New World, were more alluring, and immediately attracted the attention of their monarchs. Though they had contributed little to the discovery, and almost nothing to the conquest of the New World, they instantly assumed the function of its legislators; and having acquired a species of dominion for-

This early interpolition of the Spanish crown, Early inter-

THE fundamental maxim of Spanish jurispru- All power and property dence with respect to America, is to consider vested in the what has been acquired there as vested in the crown. crown, rather than in the state. By the bull of Alexander VI. on which, as its great charter, Spain founded its right, all the regions that had been.

merly unknown, they formed a plan for exercifing it, to which nothing fimilar occurs in the

history of human affairs.

BOOK been, or should be discovered, were bestowed as a free gift upon Ferdinand and Isabella. They and their fuccessors were uniformly held to be the universal proprietors of the vast territories, which the arms of their subjects conquered in the New World. From them, all grants of land there flowed, and to them they finally returned. The leaders who conducted the various expeditions, the governors who prefided over the different colonies, the officers of justice, and the ministers of religion, were all appointed by their authority, and removable at their pleafure. The people who composed infant settlements were intitled to no privileges independent of the fovereign, or that served as a barrier against the power of the crown. It is true, that when towns were built, and formed into bodies corporate, the citizens were permitted to elect their own magistrates, who governed by laws which the community enacted. Even in the most despotic states, this feeble spark of liberty is not extinguished. But in the cities of Spanish America, this jurisdiction is merely municipal, and is confined to the regulation of their own interior commerce and police. In whatever relates to public government, and the general interest, the will of the sovereign is law. No political power originates from the people. All centres in the crown, and in the officers of its nomination.

All the new Spain fubviceroys.

WHEN the conquests of the Spaniards in Amedominions of rica were completed, their monarchs, in forming jected to two the plan of interior policy for their new dominions, divided them into two immense governments, one subject to the viceroy of New Spain, the other to the viceroy of Peru. The jurisdiction of the former extended over all the provinces belonging to Spain in the northern division of the American continent. Under that of the latter.

was comprehended whatever she possessed in South B O O K America. This arrangement which, from the beginning, was attended with many inconveniencies, became intolerable when the remote provinces of each viceroyalty began to improve in industry and population. The people complained of their subjection to a superior, whose place of residence was so distant, or so inaccessible, as almost excluded them from any intercourse with the feat of government. The authority of the viceroy over districts so far removed from his own eye and observation, was unavoidably both feeble and ill-directed. As a remedy for those evils, a third viceroyalty has been established in the present century, at Santa Fé de Bogota, the capital of the new kingdom of Granada, the jurisdiction of which extends over the whole kingdom of Tierra Firme, and the province of Quitoh. Those Their powviceroys not only represent the person of their ers. fovereign, but possess his regal prerogatives within the precincts of their own governments, in their utmost extent. Like him, they exercise supreme authority in every department of government, civil, military and criminal. They may prefide in every tribunal. They have the fole right of nominating the persons who hold many offices of the highest importance, and the occasional privilege of supplying such as are in the royal gift, until the fuccessor appointed by the king shall arrive. The external pomp of their government is fuited to its real dignity and power. Their courts are formed upon the model of that at Madrid, with horse and foot guards, a household regularly established, numerous attendants, and ensigns of command, displaying such magnificence, as hardly retains the appearance of delegated authority i.

Vol. III.

But

h Voy. de. Ulloa, i. 23. 255, i Ulloa, Voy. i. 432. Gage, 61.

VIII.

BOOK But as the viceroys cannot discharge in person the functions of a supreme magistrate in every part of their extensive jurisdiction, they are aided in their government by officers and tribunals fimilar to those in Spain. The conduct of civil affairs in the various provinces and districts, into which the Spanish dominions in America are divided, is committed to magistrates of various orders and denominations; some appointed by the king, others by the viceroy, but all subject to his command, and amenable to his jurisdiction. The administration of justice is vested in tribunals, known by the name of Audiences, and formed upon the model of the court of Chancery in Spain. These are eleven in number, and dispense justice to as many diffricts, into which the Spanish dominions in America are divided k. The number of judges in them is various, according to the extent and importance of their jurisdiction. station of a judge in the court of Audience is no less honourable than lucrative, and is commonly filled by persons of such abilities and merit, as renders this tribunal extremely respectable. Both civil and criminal causes come under their cognizance, and for each peculiar judges are fet apart. Their jurif- Though it is only in the most despotic governments, that the fovereign exercises in person the formidable prerogative of administring justice to his fubjects, and in absolving, or condemning, consults no law but what is deposited in his own breaft; though in all the monarchies of Europe. judicial authority is committed to magistrates. whose decisions are regulated by known laws and established forms, the Spanish viceroys have often attempted to intrude themselves into the seat of justice, and with an ambition which their distance from the controul of a superior, rendered bold,

diction.

have aspired at a power which their master does BOOK not venture to assume. In order to check an usurpation which must have annihilated justice and fecurity in the Spanish colonies, by subjecting the lives and property of all to the will of a fingle man, the viceroys have been prohibited, in the most explicit terms, by repeated laws, from interfering in the judicial proceedings of the courts of Audience, or from delivering an opinion, or giving a voice with respect to any point litigated before them! In fome particular cases, in which any question of civil right is involved, even the political regulations of the viceroy may be brought under the review of the court of Audience. which, in those instances, may be deemed an intermediate power placed between him and the people, as a conftitutional barrier to circumscribe his jurisdiction. But as legal restraints on a perfon who represents the sovereign, and is clothed with his authority, are little fuited to the genius of Spanish policy; the hesitation and reserve with which it confers this power on the courts of Audience, are remarkable. They may advise, they may remonstrate, but in the event of a direct collision between their opinion and the will of the viceroy, what he determines must be carried into execution, and nothing remains for them, but to lay the matter before the king and the council of the Indies m. But to be intitled to remonstrate, and inform against a person, before whom all others must be filent, and tamely submit to his decrees, is a privilege which adds dignity to the courts of Audience. This is farther augmented by another circumstance. Upon the death of a viceroy, without any provision of a successor by the

1 Recop. lib. ii. tit. xv. 1. 35. 38. 44. lib. iii. tit. iii. l. 36, 37. m Solorz. De jure Ind. lib. iv. c. 3. n. 40, 41. Recop. lib. ii. tit. xv. l. 36. lib. iii. tit, iii. l. 34. Lib. v. tit. ix. l. 1. of Audience resident in the capital of the viceroyalty, and the senior judge, assisted by his brethern exercises all the functions of the viceroy while the office continues vacant. In matters that come under the cognizance of the Audiences, in the course of their ordinary jurisdiction, as courts of justice, their sentences are final in every litigation concerning property of less value than six thousand pesos; but when the subject in dispute exceeds that sum, their decisions are subject to review, and may be carried by appeal before the royal council of the Indies.

Council of the Indies.

Its power.

In this council, one of the most considerable in the monarchy for dignity and power, is vefted the supreme government of all the Spanish dominions in America. It was first established by Ferdinand, in the year 1511, and brought into a more perfect form by Charles V. in the year 1524. Its jurisdiction extends to every department, ecclefiaftical, civil, military, and commercial. laws and ordinances relative to the government and police of the colonies originate there, and must be approved of by two-thirds of the members, before they are iffued in the name of the king. All the offices, of which the nomination is referved to the crown, are conferred in this council. To it each person employed in America, from the viceroy downwards, is accountable. It reviews their conduct, rewards their fervices, and inflicts the punishments due to their malversationsp. Before it, is laid whatever intelligence, either public or fecret, is received from America, and every scheme of improving the administration, the police, or the commerce of the colonies, is submitted

n Recop. lib. ii. tit. zv. l. 57, &c.

Recop. lib. v. tit xiii, l. 1, &c.

P Recop. lib. ii. tit. ii. l. 1, 2, &c.

to its confideration. From the first institution of BOOK the council of the Indies, it has been the constant object of the catholic monarchs, to maintain its authority, and to make such additions from time to time, both to its power and its splendor, as might render it formidable to all their subjects in the New World. Whatever degree of public order and virtue still remains in that country, where fo many circumstances conspire to relax the former, and to corrupt the latter, may be ascribed in a great measure to the wife regulations and vigilant inspection of this respectable tribunal q.

As the king is supposed to be always present in Cafa de Conhis council of the Indies, its meetings are held in the place where he refides. Another tribunal has been instituted, in order to regulate such commercial affairs, as required the immediate and personal inspection of those appointed to superintend them. This is called Cafa de la Contratacion, or the house of trade, and was established in Seville, to whose port commerce with the New World was confined, as early as the year 1501. Its fune-It may be considered both as a board of trade, and tions. as a court of judicature. In the former capacity. it takes cognizance of whatever relates to the intercourse of Spain with America, it regulates what commodities should be exported thither, and has the inspection of such as are received in return, It decides concerning the departure of the fleets for the West Indies, the freight, and burden of the ships, their equipment, and destination. the latter capacity, it judges with respect to every question, civil or commercial, or criminal, arising in consequence of the transactions of Spain with America; and in both these departments, its deci-

9 Solorz. de Jure Ind. lib. iv. 1. 12.

BOOK fions are exempted from the review of any court VIII. but that of the council of the Indies.

Such is the great outline of that system of government, which Spain has established in her American colonies. To enumerate the various subordinate boards and officers employed in the administration of justice, in collecting the public revenue, and in regulating the interior police of the country, to describe their different succious, and to inquire into the mode and effect of their operations, would prove a detail no less intricate than minute and uninteresting.

First object, to secure an exclusive trade,

THE first object of the Spanish monarchs was to fecure the productions of the colonies to the parent state, by an absolute prohibition of any intercourse with foreign nations. They took posfession of America by right of conquest, and conscious of the feebleness of their infant settlements, and aware of the difficulty in establishing their dominion over fuch vast regions, or of retaining fo many reluctant nations under the yoke, they dreaded the intrusion of strangers; they even shunned their inspection, and endeavoured to keep them at a diffance from their coasts. This spirit of jealoufy and exclusion, which at first was natural, and perhaps necessary, augmented as their possessions in America extended, and the value of them came to be more fully understood. In confequence of it, a system of colonizing was introduced, to which there had hitherto been nothing fimilar among mankind. In the ancient world, it was not uncommon to fend forth colonies. But they were of two kinds only. They were either migrations, which ferved to disburden a state of its superfluous subjects, when they multiplied too fast

r Recop. lib. ix. tit. i. Veitia Norte de la Contratacion, lib.

fast for the territory which they occupied : or they BOOK were military detachments stationed, as garrisons, in a conquered province. The colonies of fome Greek republics, and the swarms of northern barbarians which settled in different parts of Europe. were of the first species. The Roman colonies were of the fecond. In the former, the connection with the mother-country quickly ceased, and they became independent states. In the latter, as the disjunction was not complete, the dependence continued. In their American fettlements, Regulations the Spanish monarchs took what was peculiar to for that pureach, and studied to unite them. By fending colonies to regions fo remote, by establishing in each a form of interior policy and administration, under diffinct governors, and with peculiar laws, they disjoined them from the mother-country. By retaining in their own hands the rights of legislation, as well as that of imposing taxes, together with the power of nominating the persons who filled every department, civil or military, they fecured their dependence. Happily for Spain, the fituation of her colonies was fuch, as rendered it possible to reduce this new idea into practice. most all the countries which she had discovered and occupied, lay within the tropics. The productions of that large portion of the globe, are different from those of Europe, even in its most fouthern provinces. The qualities of the climate and of the foil naturally turn the industry of those who fettle there into new channels. When the Spaniards first took possession of their domains in America, the precious metals which they yielded, were the only object that attracted their attention. Even when their efforts began to take a better direction, they employed themselves almost wholly in rearing fuch peculiar productions of the climate, as, from their rarity or value, were of chief demand in the mother-country. Allured by vaft prospects

BOOK prospects of immediate wealth, they disdained to waste their industry on what was less lucrative, but of superior moment. In order to render it impossible to correct this error, and to prevent them from making any efforts that might interfere with those of Spain, the establishment of several species of manufactures, and even the culture of the vine, or olive, are prohibited in the colonies s, under severe penalties t. They must trust entirely to the mother-country for the objects of primary necessity. Their clothes, their furniture, their instruments of labour, their luxuries, and even a confiderable part of the provisions which they consume, were imported from Spain. During a great part of the fixteenth century, Spain possessing an extensive commerce and flourishing manufactures, could supply with ease the growing demands of her colonies, from her own stores. The produce of their mines and plantations was given in exchange for these. But all that the colonies received, as well as all that they gave, was conveyed in Spanish bottoms. No vessel belonging to the colonies was ever permitted to carry the commodities of America to Europe. Even the commercial intercourse of one colony with another, was either absolutely prohibited, or limited by many jealous restrictions. All that America yields flows into the ports of Spain; all that it confumes must issue from them. No foreigner can enter one of its colonies without express permission r no vessel of any foreign nation is received into their harbours; and the pains of death, with confiscation of moveables, are denounced against every inhabitant who prefumes to trade with them". Thus the colonies are kept in a state of perpetual pupillage;

See NOTE XLVII. B. Ulloa Retab. des Manuf. &c. p. 206. u Recopil, lib. ix. tit. xxvii. l. 1. 4. 7, &c.

pupillage; and by the introduction of this com-BOOK mercial dependence, a refinement in policy of VIII. which Spain set the first example to the European nations, the supremacy of the parent state hath been maintained over remote colonies during two centuries and a half.

Such are the capital maxims to which the Spa- Slow pronish monarchs seem to have attended in forming pulation their new settlements in America. But they could from Eupot plant with the fermion at the second from Eupot plant with the fermion at the second from Eupot plant with the fermion at the second from Eupot plant with the fermion at the second from Eupot plant with the fermion at the second from Eupot plant with the fermion at the second from Eupot plant with the second fro not plant with the same rapidity that they had destroyed; and, from many concurring causes, their progress was extremely flow, in filling up the immense void which their devastations had occasioned. As foon as the rage for discovery and adventure began to abate, the Spaniards opened their eyes to dangers and diffresses, which at first they did not perceive, or had despised. The numerous hardships with which the members of infant colonies have to struggle, the diseases of unwholefome climates, fatal to the constitution of Europeans; the difficulty of bringing a country, covered with forests, into culture; the want of hands necessary for labour in some provinces, and the flow reward of industry in all, unless where the accidental discovery of mines enriched a few fortunate adventurers, were evils universally felt and magnified. Discouraged by the view of these, the spirit of migration was so much damped, that fixty years after the discovery of the New World, the number of Spaniards in all its provinces is computed not to have exceeded fifteen thousand x.

THE mode in which property was distributed in Discouraged the Spanish colonies, and the regulations esta-by the state of property, blished with respect to the transmission of it, wheWIII. favourable to population. In order to promote a rapid increase of people in any new settlement, property in land ought to be divided into small. shares, and the alienation of it should be rendered extremely easy y. But the rapaciousness of the Spanish conquerors of the New World paid no regard to this fundamental maxim of policy; and, as they possessed power, which enabled them to gratify the utmost extravagance of their wishes. many of them seized districts and provinces of vast extent, and held them as encomiendas. By degrees they obtained the privilege of converting a part of these into Mayorasgos, a species of fief, introduced into the Spanish system of feudal jurisprudence 2, which can neither be divided nor alie-Thus a great portion of landed property. under this rigid form of entail, is withheld from circulation, and descends from father to son unimproved, and of little value either to the proprietor or to the community. In the account which I have given of the reduction of Peru, various examples occur of enormous tracts of country occupied by some of the conquerors a. cesses in other provinces were similar, for as the value of the lands which they acquired, was originally estimated according to the number of Indians which lived upon them, America was in general fo thinly peopled, that only districts of great extent could afford such a number of labourers, as might be employed in the mines with any profpect of considerable gain. The pernicious effects of those radical errors in the distribution and nature of property in the Spanish settlements, are felt through every department of industry, and may be considered as one great cause of a pro-

gress

y Dr. Smith's Inquiry, ii. 166. 2 Recop. lib. iv. tit. iii. l. 24. 2 Book vi. p. 113.

gress in population so much slower than that BOOK which has taken place in better constituted co-

To this we may add, that the support of the and the naenormous and expensive fabric of their ecclesiasti-ture of their cal establishment, has been a burden on the Spa-policy. nish colonies, which has greatly retarded the progress of population and industry. The payment of tithes is a heavy tax on industry; and if the exaction of them be not regulated and circumscribed by the wisdom of the civil magistrate, it becomes intolerable and ruinous. But, instead of any restraint on the claims of ecclefiaftics, the inconsiderate zeal of the Spanish legislators admitted them into America in their full extent, and at once imposed on their infant colonies a burden which is in no flight degree oppreffive to fociety even in its most improved state. As early as the year 1501, the payment of tythes in the colonies was enjoined, and the mode of it regulated by law, and every article of primary necessity, towards which the attention of new settlers must naturally be turned, is subjected to that grievous exaction. Nor were the demands of the clergy confined to articles of fimple culture. Its more artificial and operose productions; such as fugar, indigo, and cochineal, were foon declared to be tytheable d; and thus the industry of the planter was taxed in every stage of its progress, from its rudest essay to its highest improvement. To the weight of this legal imposition, the bigotry of the American Spaniards has made many voluntary additions. From their fond delight in the external pomp and parade of religion, and from superstitious reverence for ecclesiastics of every denomination, they have bestowed profuse

d Ibid. I. 3. and 4.

See NOTE XLIX. Recop. lib. i. tit. xvi. l. 2.

BOOK fuse donatives on churches and monasteries, and vill. have unprofitably wasted a large proportion of that wealth, which might have nourished and given vigour to productive labour in growing colonies.

Various orders of people in the colonies.

Chapetones the first.

Bur so fertile and inviting are the regions of America, which the Spaniards have occupied, that notwithstanding all the circumstances, which have checked and retarded population, it has gradually increased, and filled the colonies of Spain with citizens of various orders. Among these, the Spaniards, who arrive from Europe, diftinguished by the name of Chapetones, are the first in rank and power. From the jealous attention of the Spanish court to secure the dependence of the colonies, every department of consequence is filled by persons sent from Europe; and in order to prevent any of dubious fidelity from being employed, each must bring proof of a clear descent from a family of Old Christians, untainted with any mixture of Jewish or Mahometan blood, and never disgraced by any censure of the inquisition. fuch pure hands, power is deemed to be fafely lodged, and almost every public function, from the viceroyalty downwards, is committed to them alone. Every person, who by his birth, or refidence in America, may be suspected of any attachment or interest adverse to the mother-country, is the object of diffrust to such a degree, as amounts nearly to an exclusion from all offices of confidence or authority f. By this conspicuous predilection of the court, the Chapetones are raised to such pre-eminence in America, that they look down with disdain on every other order of men.

THE

e Recop. lib. ix. tit. xxvi. 1. 15. 16. f See NOTE L.

THE character and state of the Creoles, or de-BOOK scendants of Europeans settled in America, the fecond class of subjects in the Spanish colonies, Creoles the has enabled the Chapetones to acquire other ad-fecond. vantages, hardly less considerable than those which they derive from the partial favour of government. Though some of the Creolian race are descended from the conquerors of the New World; though others can trace up their pedigree to the noblest families in Spain; though many are possessed of ample fortunes, yet, by the enervating influence of a fultry climate, by the rigour of a jealous government, and by their despair of attaining that diffinction to which mankind naturally aspire, the vigour of their minds is so entirely broken, that a great part of them waste life in luxurious indulgences, mingled with an illiberal fuperstition still more debasing. Languid and unenterprizing, the operations of an active extended commerce would be to them fo cumberfome and oppressive, that in almost every part of America they decline engaging in it. The interior traffic of every colony, as well as its trade with the neighbouring provinces, and with Spain itfelf, are carried on chiefly by the Chapetones: who, as the recompence of their industry, amass immense wealth, while the Creoles, sunk in sloth, are fatisfied with the revenues of their paternal estates.

From this stated competition for power and Rivalship wealth, between those two orders of citizens, and between these. the various passions excited by a rivalship so interesting, their hatred is violent and implacable, On every occasion, symptoms of this aversion break out, and the common appellations which each bestows on the other, are as contemptuous as those

8 Voy. de Ulloz, 1. 27. 251. Voy. de Frezier, 227.

BOOK those which flow from the most deep-rooted national antipathy b. The court of Spain, from a refinement of distrustful policy, cherishes those feeds of discord, and foments this mutual jealousy, which not only prevents the two most powerful classes of its subjects in the New World from combining against the parent state, but prompts each with the most vigilant zeal, to observe the motions and to counteract the schemes of the other.

A mixed race forms der of citizens.

THE third class of inhabitants in the Spanish the third or colonies is a mixed race, the offspring either of an European and a negroe, or of an European and Indian, the former called Mulattoes, the latter Mestizos. As the court of Spain, folicitous to incorporate its new vassals with its ancient subjects. early encouraged the Spaniards fettled in America to marry the natives of that country, several alliances of this kind were formed in their infant colonies: But it has been more owing to licentious indulgence, than to compliance with this injunction of their fovereigns, that this mixed breed has multiplied fo greatly, as to conflitute a confiderable part of the population in all the Spanish settle-The several stages of descent in this ments. race, and the gradual variations of shade until the African black, or the copper-colour of America, brighten into an European complexion, are accurately marked by the Spaniards, and each diftinguished by a peculiar name. Those of the first generation are now confidered and treated as Indians and negroes; but in the third descent, the characteristic hue of the former disappears; and in the fifth, the deeper tint of the latter is fo entirely effaced, that they can no longer be diftinguished from Europeans, and are en-

h Gage's Survey, p. 9. Frezier, 226.

i Recopil.

lib. vi. tit. i. l. 2. Herrera, dec. i. lib. v. c. 12. Dec. iii. lib. VII. C. 2.

titled to all their privileges k. It is chiefly by this BOOK mixed race, whose frame is remarkably robust and hardy, that the mechanic arts are carried on, and other active functions in fociety are discharged, which the two higher classes of citizens, from pride, or from indolence, disdain to exercise!

THE negroes hold the fourth rank among the Negroes inhabitants of the Spanish colonies. The intro-form the fourth order. duction of that unhappy part of the human species into America, together with their fervices and fufferings there, shall be fully explained in another place; here they are mentioned chiefly, in order to point out a peculiarity in their fituation under the Spanish dominion. In several of their settlements, particularly in New Spain, negroes are chiefly employed in domestic service. They form a principal part in the train of luxury, and are cherished and caressed by their superiors, to whose vanity and pleasures they are equally subservient. Their dress and appearance is hardly less splendid than that of their masters, whose manners they imitate, and whose passions they imbibe m. Elevated by this diffinction, they have affumed fuch a tone of superiority over the Indians, and treat them with fuch infolence and fcorn, that the antipathy between the two races has become implacable. Even in Peru, where negroes are more numerous, and employed in field-work as well as domestic service, they maintain their ascendant over the Indians, and their mutual hatred fubfifts with equal violence. The laws have industriously fomented this aversion, to which accident gave rise, and by most rigorous injunctions, have endea-

k Voy. de Ulloa, i. p. 27. 1 Ibid. p. 29. Voy. de Bouguer, p. 101. Melendez, Tesoros, Verdaderos, i. 354. m Gage, p. 56. Voy. de Ulloa, i. 451.

BOOK voured to prevent every intercourse that might form a bond of union between the two races. Thus, by an artful policy, the Spaniards derive strength from that which is the weakness of other European colonies, and have fecured as affociates and defenders, those very persons who elsewhere are objects of jealoufy and terror ".

The Indians form the laft tizens.

THE Indians form the last, and the most deorder of ci- pressed order of men in that country, which belonged to their ancestors. I have already traced the progress of the Spanish ideas with respect to the condition and treatment of that people, and have mentioned the most important of their more early regulations, concerning a matter of fo much consequence in the administration of their new dominions. But fince that period to which I have brought down the history of America, the information and experience acquired during two centuries, have enabled the court of Spain to make fuch improvements in this part of its American fystem, that a short view of the present condition of the Indians may prove both curious and interesting.

Their prefent condition.

By the famous regulations of Charles V. in 1542, which have been fo often mentioned, the high pretentions of the conquerors of the New World, who confidered its inhabitants as flaves, to whose service they had acquired a full right of property, were finally abrogated. From that period, the Indians have been reputed freemen, and intitled to the privileges of subjects. When admitted into this rank, it was deemed just, that they should contribute towards the support and improvement of the fociety, which had adopted

n Recopil. lib. vii. tit. v. l. 7. Herrera, dec. viii. lib. vii. c. 12. Frezier, 244.

them as members. But as no confiderable bene-BOOK fit could be expected from the voluntary efforts of men, unacquainted with regular industry, and averse to labour, the court of Spain found it necessary to fix and secure, by proper regulations, what it thought reasonable to exact from them. Tax imposed on them. With this view, an annual tax was imposed upon every male, from the age of eighteen to fifty; and, at the same time, the nature as well as extent of the fervices which they might be required to perform, were ascertained with precision. This tribute varies in different provinces, but if we take that paid in New Spain as a medium, its annual amount is nearly four shillings a head, no exorbitant sum in countries where, as at the fource of wealth, the value of money is extremely low. The right of levying it likewise varies. In America, every Indian is either an immediate vaffal of the crown. or depends upon some subject to whom the diftrict, in which he relides, has been granted for a limited time, under the denomination of encomienda. In the former case, about three-fourths of the tax is paid into the royal treasury; in the latter, the same proportion of it belongs to the holder of the grant. When Spain first took poffession of America, the greater part of it was parcelled out among its conquerors, or those who first fettled there, and but a small portion reserved for the crown. As those grants which were made for two lives only P, reverted fuccessively to the fovereign, he had it in his power either to diffuse his favours by grants to new proprietors, or to augment his own revenue by valuable annexa-VOL. III. tions.

O See NOTE LI. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. v. l. 42. Hack-luyt, vol. iii. p. 461. P Recopil. lib. vi. tit. viii. l. 48. Solorz. de Ind. jure, lib. ii. c. 16.

VIII. chosen: Of these, the latter has been frequently chosen: the number of Indians now depending immediately on the crown, is much greater than in the first age after the conquest, and this branch of the royal revenue continues to extend.

The fervices demanded.

THE benefit arising from the services of the Indians accrues either to the crown, or to the holder of the encomienda, according to the same rule obferved in the payment of tribute. Those services, however, which can now be legally exacted, are very different from the fervile talks originally imposed upon the Indians. The nature of the work which they must perform is defined, and an equitable recompence is granted for their labour. The stated services demanded of the Indians, may be divided into two branches. They are either employed in works of primary necessity, without which fociety cannot subfift comfortably, or are compelled to labour in the mines, from which the Spanish colonies derive their chief value and importance. In consequence of the former, they are obliged to affift in the culture of maize, and other grain of necessary consumption; in tending cattle, in erecting edifices of public utility, in building bridges, and in forming high roads; but they cannot be constrained to labour in raifing vines, olives, and fugar-canes, or any species of cultivation, which has for its object the gratification of luxury, or commercial profit :. In consequence of the latter, the Indians are compelled to undertake the more unpleasant task, of extracting ore from the bowels of the earth, and of

q See NOTE LII. 'r Recopil, lib. vi. tit. xiii. 1. 19. Solorz. de Ind. jure, ii. lib. i. c. 6, 7. 9. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xiii. c. l. 8. Solorz. lib. i. c. 7. No. 41, &c.

of refining it by fuccessive processes, no less un- BOOK wholesome than operose t.

THE mode of exacting both these services is The mode of exacting the fame, and is under regulations framed with a thefe. view of rendering it as little oppressive as possible to the Indians. They are called out alternately in divisions, termed Mitas, and no person can be compelled to go but in his turn. In Peru, the number called out must not exceed the seventh part of the inhabitants in any diffrict ". In New Spain, where the Indians are more numerous, it is fixed at four in the hundred *. During what time the labour of those Indians, who are employed in agriculture, continues, I have not been able to learn, But in Peru, each Mita, or division, deftined for the mines, remains there fix months: and while engaged in this fervice, a labourer never receives less than two shillings a day, and often earns more than double that fum 2. No Indian reliding at a greater distance than thirty miles from a mine, is included in the Mita, or division employed in working it a; nor are the inhabitants of the low country exposed to certain destruction, by compelling them to remove from that warm climate, to the cold elevated regions where minerals abound b.

THE Indians who live in the principal towns, Howgoare entirely subject to the Spanish laws and ma-verned. gistrates; but in their own villages, they are governed by Caziques, some of whom are the defcendants of their ancient lords, others are named by the Spanish viceroys. These regulate the pet-

u Recopil. lib. vi. tit. zii. 1. 21. t See NOTE LHI. x Ibid. 1. 22. y See NOTE LIV. 2 Ulloa Entreten. 265, 266. a Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xii. l. 3. b Ibid. l. 29. and tit. i. l. 13. See NOTE LV.

BOOK ty affairs of the people under them, according to maxims of justice, transmitted to them by tradition from their ancestors. To the Indians, this jurisdiction, lodged in such friendly hands, afford fome consolation; and so little formidable is this dignity to their new mafters, that they often allow it to descend by hereditary right c. For the farther relief of men fo much exposed to oppression, the Spanish court has appointed an officer in every district, with the title of Protector of the Indians. It is his function, as the name implies, to affert the rights of the Indians, to appear in their defence in the courts of justice; and by the interpofition of his authority, to fet bounds to the encroachments and exactions of his countrymend. A certain portion of the reserved fourth of the annual tribute, is destined for the salary of the caziques and protectors, another is applied to the maintenance of the clergy employed in the instruction of the Indians. Another part seems to be appropriated for their support, and the payment of their tribute in years of famine, or when a particular diffrict is affected by any extraordinary calamity f. Besides this, Provision is made by various laws, that hospitals shall be founded in every new settlement for the reception of Indians's. Such hospitals have accordingly been erected, both for the indigent and infirm in Lima, in Cuzco, and in Mexico, where the Indians are treated with tenderness and humanity h.

> Such is the great outline of the jurisprudence and policy by which the Indians are now governed in

^c Solorz. de. jure Ind. lib. i. c. 26. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. vii.

d Solorz. lib. i. c. 27. p. 201. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. vi. e Recopil. lib. vi. tit. v. l. 30. Tit. xvi. l. 12—15.

f Recopil. lib. vi. tit. iv. l. 13. g Recopil. lib. i. tit. iv. l. 1. &c. h Voy. de Ulloa, i. 429. 509. Churchill, iv. 496.

in the provinces belonging to Spain. In those re-BOOK gulations of the Spanish monarchs, we discover no. traces of that cruel system of extermination, which they have been charged with adopting; and if we admit, that the necessity of securing subsistence for their colonies, or the advantages derived from working the mines, give them a right to avail themselves of the labour of the Indians, we must allow, that the attention with which they regulate and recompence that labour, is provident and fagacious. In no code of laws is greater folicitude displayed, or precautions multiplied with more concern for the preservation, the security, and the happiness of the subject, than we discover in the collection of the Spanish laws for the Indies. But those latter regulations, like the more early edicts which have been already mentioned, have too often proved ineffectual remedies against the evils which they were intended to prevent. In every age, if the same causes continue to operate, the same effects must follow. From the immense distance between the power entrusted with the execution of laws, and that by whose authority they are enacted, the vigour even of the most absolute government must relax, and the dread of a superior too remote to observe with accuracy, or to punish with dispatch, must insensibly abate. Notwithflanding the numerous injunctions of the Spanish monarchs, the Indians still fuffer, on many occafions, both from the avarice of individuals, and from the exactions of the magistrates, who ought to have protected them; unreasonable tasks are imposed; the term of their labour is prolonged, and they groan under all the infults and wrongs which are the lot of a dependent people'. From some information on which I can depend, such oppression abounds more in Peru, than in any other

VIII.

BOOK colony. But it is not general. According to the accounts, even of those authors who are most exposed to exaggerate the sufferings of the Indians, they, in feveral provinces, enjoy not only ease, but affluence; they possess large farms; they are mafters of numerous herds and flocks; and, by the knowledge which they have acquired of European arts and industry, are supplied not only with the necessaries, but with many luxuries of life ".

Ecclefiastical constitution nies.

Restraints on the papal

AFTER explaining the form of civil policy of the colo- in the Spanish colonies, and the state of the various orders of persons subject to it, the peculiarities in their ecclefiaftical constitution merit consideration. Notwithstanding the superstitious veneration with which Spaniards are devoted to the Holy See, the vigilant and jealous policy of Ferdinand early prompted him to take precautions against the introduction of the papal dominion into America. With this view, he folicited Alexjurifdiction. ander VI. for a grant of the tythes in all the newlydiscovered countries, which he obtained on condition of his making provision for the religious instruction of the natives. Soon after, Julius II. conferred on him the right of patronage, and abfolute disposal of all ecclesiastical benefices there m. Both these pontiffs, unacquainted with the value of what he demanded, bestowed those donations with an inconfiderate liberality, which their fucceffors have often lamented, and wifhed to recall. In consequence of those grants, the Spanish monarchs have become, in effect, the heads of the American church. In them the administration of its revenues is vested. Their nomination of perfons to fupply vacant benefices is inftantly con-

¹ Bulla Alex. k Gage's Survey, p. 85. 90. 104. 119, &c. VI. A. D. 1501, ap Solorz. de jure Ind. ii. p. 498. m Bulla Julii, ii. 1508. Ibid. 509.

firmed by the pope. Thus, in all Spanish Ame-BOOK rica, authority of every species centres in the crown. There no collision is known between spiritual and temporal jurisdiction. The king is the only fuperior, his name alone is heard, and no dependence upon any foreign power has been introduced. Papal bulls cannot be admitted into America, nor are they of any force there, until they have been previously examined, and approved of by the royal council of the Indies n; and if any bull should be surreptitiously introduced, and circulated in America without obtaining that approbation, ecclefiaftics are required not only to prevent it from taking effect, but to seize all the copies of it, and transmit them to the council of the Indies o. To this limitation of the papal jurifdiction, equally fingular, whether we consider the age and nation in which it was devised, or the jealous attention with which Ferdinand, and his fuccessors, have studied to maintain it in full force p. Spain is indebted, in a great measure, for the uniform tranquillity which has reigned in her American dominions.

THE hierarchy is established in America in the Form and fame form as in Spain, with its full train of arch-endowments bishops, bishops, deans, and other dignitaries, in the Spa-The inferior clergy are divided into three classes, nish colonies. under the denomination of Curas, Doctrineros, and Missioneros. The first are parish-priests in those parts of the country where the Spaniards have fettled. The fecond have the charge of fuch diftricts as are inhabited by Indians, subjected to the Spanish government, and living under its protection. The third are employed in converting and

n Recopil. lib. i. tit. ix. l. 2. and Autas del Consejo de las Indias, clxi. o Recop. lib. i. tit. vii. l. 55. lib. i. passim.

BOOK and instructing those fiercer tribes, which disdain fubmission to the Spanish yoke, and live in remote or inaccessible regions, to which the Spanish arms have not penetrated. So numerous are the ecclefiaftics of all those various orders, and such the profuse liberality with which many of them are endowed, that the revenues of the church in America are immense. The superstition of Rome appears with its utmost pomp in the New World. Churches and convents there are magnificent and richly adorned; and on high festivals, the display of gold and filver, and precious stones, is such as exceeds the conception of an European 9. An ecclesiastical establishment so splendid and expenfive, is unfavourable, as has been formerly obferved, to the progress of rising colonies; but in countries where riches abound, and the people are fo delighted with parade, that religion must assume it, in order to attract their veneration, this propenfity to oftentation has been indulged, and becomes less pernicious.

Pernicious effects of stitutions.

THE early inftitution of monasteries in the monastic in Spanish colonies, and the inconsiderate zeal in multiplying them, have been attended with confequences more fatal. In every new fettlement, the first object is to encourage population, and to incite every citizen to contribute towards augmenting the strength and number of the community. During the youth and vigour of fociety, while there is room to spread, and sustenance is procured with facility, mankind increase with amazing rapidity. But the Spaniards had hardly taken possession of America, when, with a most prepofterous policy, they began to erect convents where persons of both sexes were shut up, under a vow to defeat the purpose of nature, and to counteract

counteract the first of her laws. Influenced by a BOOK misguided piety, which ascribes transcendent merit to a state of celibacy, or allured by the profpect of that liftless ease, which, in sultry climates, is deemed supreme felicity, numbers crowd into those mansions of sloth and superstition, and are loft to fociety. As none but persons of Spanish extract are admitted into the monasteries of the new World, the evil is more sensibly felt, and every monk or nun, may be confidered as an active member withdrawn from civil life. The impropriety of fuch foundations in any fituation where the extent of territory requires additional hands to improve it, is fo obvious, that fome catholic states have expressly prohibited any person in their colonies from taking the monastic vows. Even the Spanish monarchs, on some occasions, feem to have been alarmed with the fpreading of a spirit so adverse to the increase and prosperity of their colonies, that they have endeavoured to check it s. But the Spaniards in America, more thoroughly under the influence of superstition than their countrymen in Europe, and directed by ecclefiaftics more bigoted and illiterate, have conceived fuch an high opinion of monastic fanctity, that no regulations can restrain their zeal; and, by the excess of their ill-judged bounty, religious houses have multiplied to a degree no less amazing than pernicious to fociety t.

In viewing the state of colonies, where the num-Character of ber and influence of ecclesiastics is so great, the ecclesiastics character of this powerful body is an object that America; merits particular attention. A considerable part of the secular clergy in Mexico and Peru are natives

r Voy. de Ulloa, ii. 124.

2. Recop. lib. i. tit. iii. l. 1, 2. Tit. iv. c. 2. Solorz, lib. iii.

2. See NOTE LVII.

World are still less distinguished than their brethern in Spain, for literary accomplishments of

BOOK tives of Spain. As persons accustomed by their VIII. education to the retirement and indolence of academic life, are more incapable of active enterprize, and less disposed to strike into new paths, than any order of men, the ecclesiastical adventurers by whom the American church is recruited, are commonly such as, from merit or rank in life, have little prospect of success in their own council the security. Accordingly, the secular priests in the New

of the fecu-

any species; and though, by the ample provision which has been made for the American church. many of its members enjoy that ease and independence, which is favourable to the cultivation of science; the body of secular clergy has hardly, during two centuries and a half, produced one author whose works convey such useful information, or possess such a degree of merit, as to be ranked among those which attract the attention of enlightened nations. But the greatest part of the ecclefiaftics in the Spanish settlements are regulars. On the discovery of America, a new field opened to the pious zeal of the monastic orders; and, with a becoming alacrity, they immediately fent forth missionaries to labour in it. The first attempt to instruct and convert the Americans, was made by monks; and, as foon as the conquest of any province was completed, and its ecclefiaftical establishment began to asfume fome form, the popes, as a reward of their fervice, permitted the missionaries of the four mendicant orders, to accept of parochial charges in America, to perform all spiritual functions, and to receive the tythes, and other emoluments of the benefice, without depending on . the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese, or being subject to his censures. In consequence of this, a new career of usefulness, as well as new objects of ambitition presented themselves. When-

of the regu-

ever a call is made for a fresh supply of missiona- BOOK ries, men of the most ardent and aspiring minds, impatient under the restraint of a cloister, weary of its infipid uniformity, and fatigued with the irksome repetition of its frivolous functions, offer their fervice with eagerness, and repair to the New World in quest of liberty and distinction. Nor do they purfue them without fuccess. The higheft ecclefiaffical honours, and most lucrative preferments in Mexico and Peru, are often in the hands of regulars; and to them chiefly the Americans are indebted for any portion of science that is cultivated among them. They are almost the only Spanish ecclesiastics, from whom we have received accounts either of the civil or natural hiftory of the various provinces in America. Some of them, though deeply tinged with the indelible fuperstition of their profession, have published books which give a favourable idea of their abili-The natural and moral history of the New World, by the Jesuit Acosta, contains more accurate observations, perhaps, and more found science, than are to be found in any description of remote countries published in the fixteenth century.

Bur the same disgust with monastic life, to Dissolute which America is indebted for some instructors of manners of worth and abilities, filled it with others of a very them. different character. The giddy, the profligate, the avaricious, to whom the poverty and rigid discipline of a convent are intolerable, confider a mifsion to America as a release from mortification and bondage. There they foon obtain fome parochial charge, and far removed, by their fituation, from the infpection of their monastic superiors, and exempt, by their character, from the jurisdiction of their diocesan", they are hardly subject to any controul.

VIII. zealous catholics, many of the regular clergy in the Spanish settlements, are not only destitute of the virtues becoming their profession, but regardless of that external decorum and respect for the opinion of mankind, which preserve a semblance of worth, where the reality is wanting. Secure of impunity, some regulars, in contempt of their vow of poverty, engage openly in commerce; and are so rapaciously eager in amassing wealth, that they become the most grievous oppressors of the Indians, whom it was their duty to have protected. Others, with no less flagrant violation of their vow of chastity, indulge with little disguise in the most dissolute licentiousness.

VARIOUS schemes have been proposed for redressing enormities so manifest and offensive. Several persons no less eminent for piety than discernment, have contended, that the regulars in conformity to the canons of the church, ought to be confined within the walls of their cloifters, and should no longer be permitted to encroach on the functions of the fecular clergy. Some publicfpirited magistrates, from conviction of its being necessary to deprive the regulars of a privilege beflowed at first with good intention, but of which time and experience had discovered the pernicious effects, openly countenanced the fecular clergy in their attempts to affert their own rights. Prince D'Esquilache, viceroy of Peru under Philip III. took measures so decisive and effectual for circumscribing the regulars within their proper sphere, as struck them with general consternationy. They had recourse to their usual arts. They alarmed the

1618.

* See NOTE LVIII, y See NOTE LIX.

the superstitious, by representing the proceedings BOOK of the viceroy as innovations fatal to religion. They employed all the refinements of intrigue, in order to gain persons in power; and seconded by the powerful influence of the Jesuits, who enjoyed all the privileges which belonged to the Mendicant orders in America, they made a deep impreffion on a bigoted prince, and a weak ministry. The ancient practice was tolerated. The abuses which it occasioned continued to increase, and the corruption of Monks, exempt from the reftraints of discipline, and the inspection of any superior, became a difgrace to religion. At last, as the veneration of the Spaniards for the monaftic orders began to abate, and the power of the Jesuits was upon the decline, Ferdinand VI. ventured to apply the only effectual remedy, by iffuing an edict pro- June 23d. hibiting regulars of every denomination from taking the charge of any parish with the cure of fouls; and declaring, that on the demise of the present incumbents, none but secular priests, subject to the jurisdiction of their diocesans, shall be presented to vacant benefices z. If this regulation is carried into execution with steadiness, in any degree proportional to the wisdom with which it is framed, a very confiderable reformation may take place in the ecclefiaftical flate of Spanish America, and the fecular clergy may gradually become a respectable body of men. The deportment of many ecclesiastics, even at present, seems to be decent and exemplary, otherwise they would not be held in fuch high estimation, and possess such a wonderful ascendant over the minds of their countrymen, throughout all the Spanish settlements.

Bur

BOOK BUT whatever merit the Spanish ecclesiastics in VIII. America may posses, the success of their endeavours in communicating the knowledge of true gress in con- religion to the Indians has been more imperfect verting the than might have been expected, either from the Christianity degree of their zeal, or from the dominion which they had acquired over that people. For this various reasons may be assigned. The first missionaries, in their ardour to make profelytes, admitted the people of America into the christian church, without previous instruction in the doctrines of religion, and even before they themselves had acquired such knowledge of their language, as to be able to explain to them the mysteries of faith, or the precepts of duty. Resting upon a subtle distinction in scholastic theology, they adopted this strange practice no less inconsistent with the spirit of a religion, which addresses itself to the underflanding of men, than repugnant to the dictates of reason. As soon as any body of people overawed by dread of the Spanish power, moved by the example of their own chiefs, incited by levity, or yielding from mere ignorance, expressed the flightest desire of embracing the religion of their conquerors, they were infantly baptized. While this rage of conversion continued, a single clergyman baptized in one day above five thousand Mexicans, and did not defift until he was fo exhausted by fatigue, that he was unable to lift his hands a. In the course of a few years, after the reduction of the Mexican empire, the facrament of baptifm was administered to more than four millions b. Profelytes adopted with fuch inconfiderate hafte, and who were neither instructed in the nature of the tenets, to which it was supposed they had given affent, nor taught the absurdity of those which

b P. Torribio, Ibid. Torquem, lib. xvi. c. 8.

² P. Torribio, MS. Torquem. Mon. Ind. lib. xvi. c. 6.

which they were required to relinquish, retained B O O K their veneration for their ancient superstitions in full force, or mingled an attachment to its doctrines and rites, with that slender knowledge of Christianity which they acquired. These sentiments they transmitted to their posterity, into whose minds they have sunk so deep, that the Spanish ecclesiastics, with all their industry, have not been able to eradicate them. The religious institutions of their ancestors are still remembered, and held in honour by the Indians, both in Mexico and Peru; and whenever they think themselves out of reach of inspection by the Spaniards, they assemble and celebrate their idolatrous rites c.

Bur this is not the most unsurmountable obstacle to the progress of Christianity among the Indians. The powers of their uncultivated understandings are so limited, their observations and reflections reach fo little beyond the mere objects of fense, that they feem hardly to have the capacity of forming abstract ideas, and possess not language to express them. To fuch men, the sublime and spiritual doctrines of Christianity must be incomprehenfible. The numerous and fplendid ceremonies of popish worship, as they catch the eye, please and interest them; but when their instructors attempt to explain the articles of faith, with which those external observances are connected, though they liften with patience, they fo little conceive the meaning of what they hear, that their acquiescence does not merit the name of be-Their indifference is still greater than their incapacity. Attentive only to the present moment, and ingroffed by the objects before them, the Indians so seldom reflect upon what is past,

c Voy, de Ulloa, i. 341. Torquem. lib. xv. c. 23. Lib xvi. c. 28. Gage, 171.

BOOK or take thought for what is to come, that neither the promises nor threats of religion, make much impression upon them; and while their foresight rarely extends fo far as the next day, it is almost impossible to inspire them with solicitude about the concerns of a future world. Aftonished equally at their flowness of comprehension, and at their infensibility, some of the early missionaries pronounced them a race of men so brutish, as to be incapable of understanding the first principles of religion. A council held at Lima, decreed, that, on account of this incapacity, they ought to be excluded from the facrament of the Eucharift d. And though Paul III. by his famous bull, issued in the year 1537, declared them to be rational creatures, entitled to all the privileges of christianse; yet, after the lapse of two centuries. during which they have been members of the church, so imperfect are their attainments in knowledge, that very few possess such a portion of spiritual discernment, as to be deemed worthy of being admitted to the holy communion. From this idea of their incapacity and imperfect knowledge of religion, when the zeal of Philip II. eftablished the inquisition in America in the year 1570, the Indians were exempted from the jurifdiction of that fevere tribunals, and still continue under the inspection of their diocesans. Even after the most perfect instruction, their faith is held to be feeble and dubious; and though some of them have been taught the learned languages, and have gone through the ordinary course of academic education with applause, their frailty is still so much suspected, that no Indian is either ordained a priest, or received into any religious order h.

FROM

d Torquem. lib. xvi. c. 20. c. 25. Garcia origen. 311. g Recop. lib vi. tit. i. l. 35. c. 13. See NOTE LX.

f Voy. de Ulloa, i. 343. h Torquem, lib. xvii.

241

From this brief survey, some idea may be BOOK formed of the interior state of the Spanish colonies. The various productions with which they Productions supply and enrich the mother-country, and the of the Spafystem of commercial intercourse between them, nish colocome next in order to be explained. If the dominions of Spain in the New World, had been of fuch moderate extent, as bore any proportion to the parent state, the progress of her colonizing might have been attended with the same benefit as that of other nations. But when, in less than half a century, her inconsiderate rapacity had feized on countries larger than all Europe, her inability to fill fuch vast regions, with a number of inhabitants sufficient for the cultivation of them, was fo obvious, as to give a wrong direction to all the efforts of the colonists. They did not form compact fettlements, where industry, circumscribed within limits, both in its views and operations, is conducted with that fober preserving spirit, which gradually converts whatever is in its possession to its proper use, and derives from it the greatest advantage. Instead of this, the Spaniards, seduced by the boundless prospect which opened to them, divided their possessions in America into governments of vast extent. As their number was too fmall to attempt the regular culture of the immense provinces, which they occupied rather than peopled, they bent their attention to a few objects, that allured them with hopes of fudden and exorbitant gain, and turned away with contempt from the humbler paths of induftry, which lead more flowly, but with greater certainty, to wealth and increase of national strength.

Or all the methods by which riches may be ac- From their quired, that of fearching for the precious metals mines. is one of the most inviting to men, who are either unaccustomed to the regular assiduity with YOL. III. which

BOOK which the culture of the earth, and the operations VIII. of commerce must be carried on, or so enterprifing and rapacious, as not to be fatisfied with the gradual returns of profit which they yield. Accordingly, as foon as the feveral countries in America were subjected to the dominion of Spain, this was almost the only method of acquiring wealth which occurred to the adventurers, by whom they were conquered. Such provinces of the continent as did not allure them to fettle, by the prospect of their affording gold and filver, were totally neglected. Those, in which they met with a disappointment of the fanguine expectations they had formed, were abandoned. Even the value of the islands, the first fruits of their discoveries, and the first object of their attention, sunk so much in their estimation, when the mines which they had opened there were exhaufted, that they were deferted by many of the planters, and left to be occupied by more industrious possessors. All crowded to Mexico and Peru, where the vast quantities of gold and filver found among the natives, who fearched for them with little industry, and less skill, promised an unexhausted store, as the recompence of more intelligent and persevering efforts.

Discovery of

During several years, the ardour of their rethose of Po-tosi and Sa- searches was kept up by hope, rather than success. At length, the rich filver mines of Potofi, in Peru, were accidentally discovered in the year 1545, by an Indian, as he was clambering up the mountain, in pursuit of a Llama which had strayed from his flock. Soon after the mines of Sacotecas, in New Spain, little inferior to the other in value, were opened. From that time, fuccessive discoveries have been made in both colonies, and filver

i Fernandez, p. i. lib. xi. c. 11.

mines are now fo numerous, that the working of BOOK them, and of some few mines of gold in the provinces of Tirra Fierma, and the new kingdom of Granada, has become the capital occupation of the Spaniards, and is reduced into a system no less complicated than interesting. To describe the nature of the various ores, the mode of extracting them from the bowels of the earth, and to explain the feveral processes by which the metals are separated from the substances with which they are mingled, either by the action of fire, or the attractive powers of mercury, is the province of the natural philosopher or chymift, rather than of the historian.

THE exuberant profusion with which the moun-Riches tains of the New World poured forth their trea-vield. fures, aftonished mankind, accustomed hitherto to receive a penurious supply of the precious metals, from the more scanty stores contained in the mines of the ancient hemisphere. According to principles of computation, which appear to be extremely moderate, the quantity of gold and filver that has been regularly entered in the ports of Spain, is equal in value to four millions sterling annually, reckoning from the year 1492, in which America was discovered to the present time. This in two hundred and eighty-three years, amounts to eleven hundred and thirty-two millions. Immense as this fum is, the Spanish writers contend, that as much more ought to be added to it, in confideration of the treasure which has been extracted from the mines, without paying duty to the king. By this account, Spain has drawn from the New World a supply of wealth, amounting at least to two thousand millions of pounds fterling k

k Uztariz Theor. y Pract. de Comercia, c. 3. Herrera, dec. viii. lib. xi. c. 15. See NOTE LXI.

BOOK VIII. Spirit to which this gives rile.

THE mines, which have yielded this amazing quantity of treasure, are not worked at the expence of the crown, or of the public. In order to encourage private adventurers, the person who discovers a new vein, is intitled to the property of it. Upon laying his claim before the governor of the province, a certain extent of land is measured off, and a certain number of Indians allotted him, under the obligation of his opening the mine within a limited time, and of his paying the cuftomary duty to the king, for what it shall produce. Invited by the facility with which fuch grants are obtained, and encouraged by some striking examples of fuccess in this line of adventure: not only the fanguine and the bold, but the timid and diffident enter upon it with aftonishing ardour. With vast objects always in view, fed continually with hope, and expecting every moment that fortune will unveil her stores, and give them up to their wishes, they deem every other occupation insipid and uninteresting. The charms of this pursuit, like the rage for deep play, is so bewitching, and take fuch full possession of the mind, as even to give a new bent to the natural temper: Under its influence, the cautious become enterprizing and the covetous profuse. Powerful as this charm naturally is, its force is augmented by the arts of an order of men known in Peru, by the cant name of fearchers. These are commonly persons of desperate fortunes, who, availing themselves of some skill in mineralogy, accompanied with the infinuating manner, and confident pretentions peculiar to projectors, address the wealthy and the credu-By plaulible descriptions of the appearances which they have discovered of rich veins hitherto unexplored; by producing when requifite, specimens of promising ore; by affirming, with an impoling affurance, that success is certain, and that the expence must be trifling; they seldom fail to perfuade.

persuade. An affociation is formed; a small sum is advanced by each co-partner; the mine is opened; the fearcher is intrusted with the sole direction of every operation: unforeseen difficulties occur; new demands of money are made; but amidst a succession of disappointments and delays, hope is never extinguished, and the ardour of expectation hardly abates. For it is observed, that if any person once enter this seducing path, it is almost impossible to return; his ideas alter, he seems to be possessed with another spirit, visions of imaginary wealth are continually before his eyes, and he thinks, and speaks, and dreams of nothing else!

SUCH is the spirit that must be formed, where- Fatal effects ever the active exertions of any fociety are chiefly of it. employed in working mines of gold and filver. No fpirit is more adverse to such improvement in agriculture and commerce, as render a nation really opulent. If the fystem of administration in the Spanish colonies had been founded upon the principles of found policy, the power and ingenuity of the legislature would have been exerted with as much ardour, in reftraining its subjects from fuch pernicious industry, as is now employed in alluring them towards it. "Projects of mining " (fays a good judge of the political conduct of " nations) instead of replacing the capital em-"ployed in them, together with the ordinary profit of stock, commonly absorb both capital and profit. They are the projects therefore, to " which, of all others, a prudent law-giver, who " defired to increase the capital of his nation, " would least chuse to give any extraordinary en-" couragement, or to turn towards them a greater fhare

BOOK " share of that capital than would go to them of " its own accord. Such, in reality, is the abfurd " confidence which all men have in their own good fortune, that wherever there is the least probability of success, too great a share of it is apt to go to them of its own accord m." But in the Spanish colonies government is studious to cherish a spirit which it should have laboured to depress, and by the fanction of its approbation augments that inconfiderate credulity, which has turned the active industry of Mexico and Peru into such an improper channel. To this may be imputed the flender progress which they have made during two centuries and a half, either in useful manufactures, or in those lucrative branches of cultivation. which furnish the colonies of other nations with their staple commodities. In comparison with the precious metals, every bounty of nature is fo much despised, that this extravagant idea of their value has mingled with the idiom of the language in America, and the Spaniards fettled there denominate a country, rich, not from the fertility of its foil, the abundance of its crops, or the exuberance of its pastures, but on account of the minerals which its mountains contain. In quest of these, they abandon the delightful plains of Peru and Mexico, and refort to barren and uncomfortable regions, where they have built some of the largest towns which they possess in the New World As the activity and enterprise of the Spaniards ooriginally took this direction, it is now fo difficult to bend them a different way, that although, from various causes, the gain of working mines is much decreased; the fascination continues, and almost every person, who takes any active part in the commerce of New Spain or Peru, is still engaged in fome adventure of this kind n.

Bur

m Dr. Smith's Inquiry, &c. ii. 155. n See NOTE LXII.

Bur though mines are the chief object of BOOK attention to the Spaniards, and the precious me-VIIL tals which they yield, form the principal article in Other comtheir commerce; the fertile countries which they modites of posses, supply them with other commodities of the Spanish fuch value or scarcity, as to attract a considerable degree of attention. Cochineal is a production almost peculiar to New Spain, of fuch demand in commerce, that the fale is always certain, and it yields fuch profit, as amply rewards the pains and attention employed in rearing the curious infects of which this valuable drug is composed, and preparing it for the market. Quinquina, or Jefuit's Bark, the most salutary simple, perhaps, and of most restorative virtue, that Providence, in in compassion for human infirmity, has made known unto man, is found only in Peru, to which it affords a lucrative branch of commerce n. The indigo of Guatimala is superior in quality to that of any province in America, and cultivated to a confiderable extent. Cacoa, though not peculiar to the Spanish colonies, attains to its highest state of perfection there, and from the great confumption of chocolate in Europe, as well as in America, is a valuable commodity. The tobacco of Cuba, of more exquisite flavour any than brought from the New World; the fugar raised in that island, in Hispaniola, and in New Spain; together with drugs of various kinds, may be mentioned among the natural productions of America, which enrich the Spanish commerce. To these must be added an article of no inconfiderable account, the exportation of hides; for which, as well as for many of those which I have enumerated, the Spaniards are more indebted to the wonderful fertility of the country than to their own forefight and industry. The domestic animals of Europe, particularly

P See NOTE LXIII.

BOOK horned cattle, have multiplied in the New World with a rapidity which almost exceeds belief. A few years after the Spaniards settled there, the herds of tame cattle became so numerous, that their proprietors reckoned them by thousandso. Less attention being paid to them, as they continued to increase, they were suffered to run wild, and spreading over a country of boundless extent, under a mild climate and covered with rich pafture, their number became immense. They range over the vast plains which extend from Buenos Ayres, towares the Andes, in herds of thirty or forty thousand; and the unlucky traveller who once falls in among them, may proceed several days before he can disentangle himself from among the crowd that covers the face of the earth, and feems to have no end. They are hardly less numerous in New Spain, and in feveral other provinces: these are killed merely for the sake of their hides; and the flaughter at certain feafons is fo great, that the stench of the carcases which are left in the field, would affect the air, if large packs of wild dogs, and vaft flocks of gallinazos, or American vultures, the most voracious of all the feathered kind, did not instantly devour them. The number of those hides exported in every fleet to Europe is prodigious, and is a lucrative branch of commerce p.

Almost all those articles may be considered as staple commodities peculiar to America, and different, if we except that last mentioned, from the productions of the mother-country.

Advantages When the importation into Spain of those vawhich Spain derives from rious articles from her colonies, first became active her colonies, and considerable, her interior industry and manufactures

Oviedo ap. Ramus. iii. 101, B. Hackluyt, iii. 466. 511.
P Acosta, lib. iii. c. 33. Ovallo Hist. of Chili. Church. Collect. iii. 47. sep. Ibid. v. p. 680. 692. Lettres Edif. xiii. 235. Feuille, i. 249.

factures were in a state so prosperous, that with BOOK the product of these, she was able both to purchase the commodities of the New World, and to anfwer its growing demands. Under the reigns of Ferdinand and Ifabella, and Charles V. Spain was one of the most industrious countries in Europe. Her manufactures in wool, and flax, and filk, were fo extensive, as not only to furnish what was fufficient for her own confumption, but to afford a furplus for exportation. When a market for them, formerly unknown, and to which she alone had access, opened in America, she had recourse to her domestic store, and found there an abundant supply 9. This new employment must naturally have added vivacity to the spirit of industry. Nourished and invigorated by it, the manufactures, the population, and wealth of Spain might have gone on increasing in the same proportion with her colonies. Nor was the flate of the Spanish marine at this period less flourishing than that of its manufactures. In the beginning of the fixteenth century, Spain is faid to have possessed above a thousand merchant ships, a number probably far superior to that of any nation in Europe. By the aid which foreign trade and domestic industry give reciprocally to each other in their progress, the augmentation of both must have been rapid and extensive, and Spain might have received the same accession of opulence and vigour from her acquisitions in the New World, that other powers have derived from their colonies there.

Bur various causes prevented this. It is with why the nations as with individuals, when wealth flows in does not now derive the gradually, and with moderate increase, it feeds same. and nourishes that activity which is friendly to commerce,

BOOK commerce, and calls it forth into vigorous and well conducted exertions; but when it pours in fuddenly, and with too full a stream, it overturns all fober plans of industry, and brings along with it a tafte for what is wild, and extravagant, and daring in business or in action. Such was the great and fudden augmentation of power and revenue, that the possession of America brought into Spain, and some symptoms of its pernicious influence upon the political operations of that monarchy foon began to appear. For a confiderable time, however, the fupply of treasure from the New World was scanty and precarious, and the genius of Charles V. conducted public measures with such prudence, that the effects of this influence were little perceived. But when Philip II. ascended the Spanish throne, with talents far inferior to those of his father, and remittances from the colonies became a regular and vast branch of revenue, the fatal operation of this rapid change in the state of the kingdom, both on the monarch and his people, was at once conspicuous. Philip, possessing that spirit of unceasing assiduity, which often characterizes the ambition of men of moderate talents, entertained such an high opinion of his own resources, that he thought nothing too arduous for him to undertake. Shut up himself in the solitude of the Escurial, he troubled and annoyed all the nations around him. He waged open war with the Dutch and English; he encouraged and aided a rebellious faction in France; he conquered Portugal, and maintained armies and garrifons in Italy,

> Africa, and both the Indies. By fuch a multiplicity of great and complicated operations, pursued with ardour during the course of a long reign, Spain was drained both of men and money. Under the weak administration of his successor, Philip III. the vigour of the nation continued to de-

> crease, and sunk into the lowest decline, when the

the inconfiderate bigotry of that monarch expell- BOOK ed at once near a million of his most industrious subjects, at the very time when the exhausted state A.D. 1611. of the kingdom required some extraordinary exertion of political wisdom to augment its numbers, and to revive its strength. Early in the seventeenth century, Spain felt such a diminution in the number of her people, that from inability to recruit her armies, she was obliged to contract her operations. Her flourishing manufactures were fallen into decay. Her fleets, which had been the terror of all Europe, were ruined. Her extensive foreign commerce was loft. The trade between different parts of her own dominions was interrupted, and the ships which attempted to carry it on, were taken and plundered by enemies. whom they once despised. Even agriculture, the primary object of industry in every prosperous state was neglected, and one of the most fertile countries in Europe hardly raifed what was sufficient for the support of its own inhabitants.

In proportion as the population and manufac- Rapid detures of the parent state declined, the demands of cline of its her colonies continued to increase. The Spaniards, like their monarchs intoxicated with the wealth which poured in annually upon them, deferted the paths of industry, to which they had been accustomed, and repaired with eagerness to those regions from which this opulence iffued. By this rage of emigration, another drain was opened, and the strength of the colonies augmented by exhausting that of the mother-country. All those emigrants, as well as the adventurers who had at first settled in America, depended absolutely upon Spain for almost every article of necessary consumption. Engaged in more alluring and lucrative pursuits, or prevented by restraints which government imposed, they could not turn their own attention

BOOK attention towards establishing the manufactures VIII. requifite for comfortable fublishence. They received (as I have observed in another place) their clothing, their furniture, whatever ministers to the ease or luxury of life, and even their inftruments of labour from Europe. Spain, thinned of people, and void of industry, was unable to supply their increasing demands. She had recourse to The manufactures of the Low her neighbours. Countries, of England, of France, and of Italy. which her wants called into existence, or animated with new vivacity, furnished in abundance whatever she required. In vain did the fundamental law concerning the exclusion of foreigners from trade with America, oppose this innovation. Neceffity, more powerful than any statute, defeated its operations, and constrained the Spaniards themfelves to concur in eluding it. The English, the French, and Dutch, relying on the fidelity and honour of Spanish merchants, who lend their names to cover the deceit, send out their manufactures to America, and receive the exorbitant price for which they are fold there, either in specie, or in the rich commodities of the New World. dread of danger, nor the allurement of profit, ever induced a Spanish factor to betray or defraud the person who confided in him; and that probity, which is the pride and distinction of nation. contributes to its ruin. In a short time, not above a twentieth part of the commodities exported to America was of Spanish growth or fabric r. the rest was the property of foreign merchants, though entered in the name of Spaniards. treasure of the New World may be said henceforward not to have belonged to Spain. Before it reached Europe, it was anticipated as the

^{*} Zavala Representacion, p. 226. t Campomanes, ii. 138.

price of goods purchased from foreigners. That BOOK wealth, which, by an internal circulation, would VIVI. have spread through each vein of industry, and have conveyed life and activity to every branch of manufacture, flowed out of the kingdom with fuch a rapid course, as neither enriched nor animated it. On the other hand, the artisans of rival nations, encouraged by this quick sale of their commodities, improved so much in skill and industry, as to be able to afford them at a rate fo low, that the manufactures of Spain, which could not vie with theirs, either in quality or cheapness of work, were still farther depressed. This destructive commerce drained off the riches of the nation faster and more completely, than even the extravagant schemes of ambition carried on by its monarchs. Spain was fo much aftonished and distressed, at beholding her American treafures vanish almost as soon as they were imported, that Philip III. unable to supply what was requifite in circulation, iffued an edict, by which he endeavoured to raife copper money to a value in currency nearly equal to that of filver u; and the lord of the Peruvian and Mexican mines was reduced to a wretched expedient, which is the last resource of petty impoverished states.

Thus the possessions of Spain in America have not proved a fource of population and of wealth to her, in the same manner as those of other nations. In the countries of Europe, where the spirit of industry subsists in full vigour, every person settled in such colonies, as are similar in their fituation to those of Spain, is supposed to give employment to three or four at home in fupplying his wants x. But wherever the mother-

equal control that it can preferabe at pleature

u Uztariz, c. 104. * Child on trade and colonies.

VIII. may be confidered as a citizen loft to the community, and strangers must reap all the benefit of answering his demands.

Increased by the mode of regulating its intercourse with America.

Such has been the internal flate of Spain from the close of the fixteenth century, and fuch her inability to fupply the growing wants of her colonies. The fatal effects of this disproportion between their demands, and her capacity of answering them, have been much increased by the mode in which Spain has endeavoured to regulate the intercourse between the mother-country and the colonies. It is from her idea of monopolizing the trade with America, and debarring her fubiects there from any communication with foreigners, that all her jealous and systematic arrangements have arisen. These are so singular in their nature and consequences, as to merit a particular explanation. In order to fecure the monopoly at which she aimed, Spain did not vest the trade with her colonies in an exclusive company, a plan which has been adopted by nations more commercial, and at a period when mercantile policy was an object of greater attention, and ought to have been better understood. The Dutch gave up the whole trade with their colonies, both in the East and West Indies, to exclusive companies. The English, the French, the Danes, have imitated their example with respect to the East Indian commerce; and the two former have laid a fimilar restraint upon some branches of their trade with the New World. The wit of man cannot, perhaps, devise a method for checking the progress of industry and population in a new colony more effectual than this. The interest of the colony, and the exclusive company, must in every point be diametrically opposite; the latter possesses such advantages in this unequal contest, that it can prescribe at pleasure the

the terms of intercourse, the former must not BOOK only buy dear and fell cheap, but fuffer the mortification of having the increase of their surplus flock discouraged by those very persons to whom alone they are permitted to dispose of it'y.

SPAIN, it is probable, was preserved from fall-This coning into this error in policy, by the high ideas portin Spain. which she early formed concerning the riches of the New World. Gold and filver were commodities of too high value to vest a monopoly of them in private hands. The crown wished to retain the direction of a commerce so inviting; and in order to fecure that, ordained that the cargo of every ship fitted out for America, should be inspected by the officers of the Casa de Contratacion in Seville, before it could receive a licence to make the voyage; and that on its return, a report of the commodities which it brought should be made to the same board, before it could be permitted to land them. In consequence of this regulation, all the trade of Spain with the New World centred in the port of Seville, and was gradually brought into a form, in which it has been conducted, with little variation, from the middle of the fixteenth century almost to our own times. For the greater fecurity of the valuable cargoes fent to America, as well as for the more easy prevention of fraud, the commerce of Spain with its colonies is carried on by fleets, which fail under strong convoys. These fleets consisting of two squadrons, one distinguished by the name of Galeons, the other by that of the Flota, are equipped annually. Formerly they took their departure from Seville; but as the port of Cadiz has been found more commodious, they have failed from it fince the year 1720.

THE

leons,

BOOK THE Galeons destined to supply Tierra Firme, and the kingdoms of Peru and Chili, with almost every article of luxury, or necessary consumption, by the Ga- that an opulent people can demand, touch first at Carthagena, and then at Porto-bello. To the former, the merchants of Santa Martha, Caraccas, the New Kingdom of Granada, and several other provinces refort. The latter is the great mart for the rich commerce of Peru and Chili. At the seafon when the Galeons are expected, the product of all the mines in these two kingdoms, together with their other valuable commodities, is transported by sea to Panama. From thence, as foon as the appearance of the fleet from Europe is announced, they are conveyed across the ifthmus, partly on mules, and partly down the river Chagree to Porto-bello. This paltry village, whose climate, from the pernicious union of excessive heat, continual moisture, and the putrid exhalations arifing from a rank foil is more fatal to life than any perhaps in the known world, is immediately filled with people. From being the refidence of a few negroes and mulattoes, and of a miserable garrison relieved every three months, its fireets are crowded with opulent merchants from every corner of Peru, and the adjacent provinces. A fair is opened, the wealth of America is exchanged for the manufactures of Europe. and during its prescribed term of forty days, the richest traffic on the face of the earth is begun and finished, with that simplicity of transaction and unbounded confidence, which accompany extensive commerce z. holds its course to Vera Cruz. The treasures and commodities of New Spain, and the depending provinces, which were deposited at Los Angeles in expectation of its arrival, are carried thither,

and Flota.

and

HISTORY OF AMERICA.

257

and the commercial operations of Vera Cruz, con- BOOK ducted in the same manner with those of Portobello, are inferior to them only in importance and value. Both fleets, as foon as they have completed their cargoes from America, rendezvous at the Havanna, and return in company to Europe,

The trade of Spain with her colonies, while Bad effect of thus fettered and restricted, came necessarily to this arrange. be conducted with the same spirit, and upon the fame principles, as that of an exclusive company. Being confined to a fingle port, it was of course thrown into a few hands, and almost the whole of it was gradually engroffed by a small number of wealthy houses, formerly in Seville, and now in Cadiz. These by combinations, which they can easily form, may altogether prevent that competition which preserves commodities at their nafural price; and by acting in concert, to which they are prompted by their mutual interest, they may raise or lower their value at pleasure. In consequence of this, the price of European goods in America is always high, and often exorbitant. A hundred, two hundred, and even three hundred per cent. are profits not uncommon in the commerce of Spain with her colonies. From the fame ingroffing spirit it frequently happens, that traders of the second order, whose warehouses do not contain a complete affortment of commodities for the American market, cannot purchase from the more opulent merchants, fuch goods as they want, at a lower price than that for which they are fold in the colonies. With the same vigilant jealousy that an exclusive company guards against the intrusion of the free trader, those overgrown monopolists endeavour to check the progess of eve-Vol. III.

S Campunanes, Educi Popul. L. 435 . H. 140.

HISTORY OF AMERICA.

BOOK ry one whose encroachments they dread b. But this restraint of the American commerce to one port, not only effects its domestic state, but limits its foreign operations. A monopolist may acquire more, and certainly will hazard less, by a confined trade which yields exorbitant profit, than by an extensive commerce in which he receives only a moderate return of gain. often his interest not to enlarge, but to circumscribe the sphere of his activity; and instead of calling forth more vigorous exertions of commercial industry, it may be the object of his attention to check and fet bounds to them. By fome fuch maxim, the merchantile policy of Spain feems to have regulated its intercourse with America. Instead of furnishing the colonies with European goods in fuch quantity as might render both the price and the profit moderate; the merchants of Seville and Cadiz feem to have supplied them with a sparing hand, that the eagerness of competition amongst customers obliged to purchase in a scanty market, might enable their factors to dispose of their cargoes with exorbitant gain. About the middle of the last century, when the exclusive trade to America from Seville was in its most flourishing state, the burden of the two united squadrons of the Galeons and Flota, did not exceed twentyfeven thousand five hundred tons. The supply which fuch a fleet could carry must have been very inadequate to the demands of those populous and extensive colonies, which depended upon it for all the luxuries, and many of the necessaries of life.

Remedies proposed.

SPAIN early became fenfible of her declenfion from her former profperity, and many respectable

b Smith's Inquiry, if. 171. Campomanes, Educ. Popul. i. 438. c Campomanes, Educ. Popul. i. 435. ii. 110.

and virtuous citizens employed their thoughts in BOOK devising methods for reviving the decaying industry and commerce of their country. From the violence of the remedies proposed, we may judge how desperate and fatal the malady appeared. Some confounding a violation of police with criminality against the state, contended, that in order to check illicit commerce, every perfon convicted of carrying it on, should be punished with death, and confiscation of all his effects a Others, forgetting the diffinction between civil offences and acts of impiety, infifted, that contraband trade should be ranked among the crimes referved for the cognizance of the Inquisition that fuch as were guilty of it might be tried and punished, according to the fecret and furnmary form in which that dreadful tribunal exercises its jurifdiction of Others, uninftructed by observing the pernicious effects of monopolies in every country where they have been established, have proposed to vest the trade with America in exclufive companies, whom interest would render the most vigilant guardians of the Spanish commerce against the encroachments of interlopers.

BESIDE these wild projects, many schemes better digested, at first without effect, and more beneficial, were sugested. But under the seeble monarchs, with whom the reign of the Austrian line in Spain closed, incapacity and indecision are conspicuous in every department of government. Instead of taking for their model the active administration of Charles V. they affected to imitate the cautious procrastinating wisdom of Philip II. and destitute of his talents, they deliberated perpetually, but determined nothing. No remedy was applied to the evils under which the

d M. de Santa Cruz Comercio Suelto, p. 142. e Moncada Restauración politica de Espagna, p. 41. Zavala y Augnon Representación, &c. p. 190.

VIII.

BOOK national commerce, domestic as well as foreign. languished. These evils continued to increase. and Spain, with dominions more extensive and more opulent than any European state, possessed neither vigour, nor money h, nor industry. At length, the violence of a great national convultion rouzed the flumbering genius of Spain, and the efforts of the two contending parties in the civil war, kindled by the disputes concerning the succession of the crown at the beginning of this century, called forth in some degree, the ancient spirit and vigour of the nation. While men were forming, capable of adopting more liberal fentiments, than those which had influenced the councils of the monarchy during the course of a century, Spain derived from an unexpected fource the means of availing itself of their talents. The various powers who favoured the pretentions either of the Austrian or Bourbon candidate for the Spanish throne, sent formidable fleets and armies to their support. France, England and Holland remitted immense fums to Spain. These were fpent in the provinces which became the theatre of war. Part of the American treasure of which they had drained the kingdom, flowed back thither. From this æra, one of the most intelligent Spanish authors, dates the revival of the monarchy; and, however humiliating the truth may be, he acknowledges that it is to her enemies his country is indebted for the acquisition of a fund of circulating specie, in some measure adequate to the exigencies of the public i.

Steps towards improvement bon monarchs,

As foon as the Bourbons obtained quiet poffession of the throne, they discerned this change by the Bour- in the spirit of the people, and in the state of the nation, and took advantage of it; for although that isnoissa

h See NOTE LXVI. i Campomanes, i. 429.

Auroteliniacion, Sec. p

that family has not given monarchs to Spain re-BOOK markable for superiority of genius, they have all been beneficient princes, attentive to the happiness of their subjects, and solicitous to promote it. It was, accordingly the first object of Philip V. to suppress an innovation which had crept in during the course of the war, and overturned the whole system of the Spanish commerce with America. The English and Dutch, by their superi-by excluding ority in naval power, having acquired fuch com-foreigners from trade mand of the sea, as to cut off all intercourse be- with Peru; tween Spain and her colonies, Spain, in order to furnish them those necessaries of life, without which they could not exist, and as the only means of receiving from thence any part of their treafure, departed fo far from the usual rigour of its maxims, as to open the trade with Peru to her allies the French. The merchants of St. Malo. to whom Louis XIV. granted the privilege of this lucrative commerce, engaged in it with vigour, and carried it on upon principles very different from those of the Spaniards. They supplied Peru with European commodities at a more moderate price, and not in flinted quantity; the goods which they imported were conveyed to every province of Spanish America, in such abundance as had never been known in any former period. If this intercourse had been continued, the exportation of European commodities from Spain must have ceased, and the dependance of the colonies on the mother-country have been at an end. The most peremptory injunctions were therefore iffued, prohibiting the admiffion of foreign veffels into any port of Peru or Chili k, and a Spanish squadron was employed to clear the South Sea of intruders, whose aid was no longer necessary.

BUT

k Frezier Voy. 256, B. Ulloa Retab. ii. 104, &c. Alcedo y Herrera Aviso, &c. 236.

VIII. by checking contraband trade,

particularly of the Eng-lish Assiento company,

BOOK Bur though, on the ceffation of the war, which was terminated by the treaty of Utretch, Spain obtained relief from one encroachment on her commercial fystem, she was exposed to another which the deemed hardly less pernicious. As an inducement that might prevail with Queen Anne to conclude a peace which France and Spain defired with equal ardour, Philip V. not only conveyed to Great Britain the Affiento, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, which had formerly been enjoyed by France, but granted it the more extraordinary privilege of fending annually to the fair of Porto-bello a ship of five hundred tons, laden with European commodities. In consequence of this, British factories were established at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other Spanish settlements. The veil with which Spain had hitherto covered the state and transactions of her colonies was removed. The agents of a rival nation, reliding in the towns of most extensive trade, and of chief resort, had the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with the interior condition of their provinces, of observing their stated and occasional wants, and of knowing what commodities might be imported into them with the greatest advantage. confequence of information fo authentic and expeditious, the merchants of Jamaica, and other English colonies who traded to the Spanish main. were enabled to affort and proportion their cargoes, fo exactly to the demands of the market, that the contraband commerce was carried on with a facility and to an extent unknown in any former period. This, however, was not the most fatal consequence of the Affiento to the trade of Spain. The agents of the British South Sea Company, under cover of the importation which they were authorised to make by the ship sent annually to Porto-bello poured in their commodities on the Spanish continent, without

without limitation or restraint. Instead of a ship BOOK of five hundred tons, as stipulated in the treaty. they usually employed one which exceeded nine hundred tons in burden. She was accompanied by two or three other smaller vessels, which mooring in some neighbouring creek, supplied her clandestinely with fresh bales of goods to replace fuch as were fold. The inspectors of the fair, and officers of the revenue, gained by exorbitant prefents, connived at the fraud!. Thus, partly by the operations of the company, and partly by the activity of private interlopers, almost the whole trade of Spanish America was ingrossed by foreigners. The immense commerce of the Galeons, formerly the pride of Spain, and the envy of other nations, funk to nothing, and the squadron itself, reduced from fifteen thousand to two thousand tons m, served hardly any purpose but to fetch home the royal revenue arising from the fifth on filver.

WHILE Spain observed those encroachments, Guarda Cof-and felt so sensibly their pernicious effects, it was for this purimpossible not to make some effort to restrain them. pose. Her first expedient was to station ships of force, under the appellation of Guarda Costas, upon the coasts of those provinces, to which interlopers most frequently resorted. As private interest concurred with the duty which they owed to the public, in rendering the officers who commanded them vigilant and active, some check was given to the progress of the contraband trade, though in dominions fo extensive, and fo accessible by sea, no number of cruizers was sufficient to guard against its inroads in every quarter. This interruption of an intercourse, which had been carried on with so much facility, that the merchants in the British co-

1 See NOTE LXVII. m Alcedo y Herrera, p. 359. Campomanes, i. 436.

BOOK lonies were accustomed to consider it almost as an allowed branch of commerce, excited murmurs and complaints. These authorised, in some meafure, and rendered more interesting, by several unjuftifiable acts of violence committed by the captains of the Spanish Guarda Costas, precipitated Great Britain into a war with Spain, by which the latter obtained a final release from the Assiento, and was left at liberty to regulate the commerce of her colonies, without being restrained by any engagement with a foreign power.

The ple of introduced.

As the formidable encroachments of the Engregister ships lish on their American trade, had discovered to the Spaniards the vast consumption of European goods in their colonies, and taught them the advantage of accommodating their importations to the occasional demand of the various provinces. they perceived the necessity of devising some method of supplying their colonies, different from their ancient one, of fending thither periodical fleets. This mode of communication was not only uncertain, as the departure of the Galeons and Flota was sometimes retarded by various accidents, and often prevented by the wars which raged in Europe, but was ill adapted to afford America a regular and timely supply of what it wanted. The scarcity of European goods in the Spanish settlements frequently became excessive: their price rose to an enormous height; the vigilant eve of mercantile attention did not fail to obferve this favourable opportunity, an ample supply was poured in by interlopers from the English, the French, and Dutch islands; and when the Galeons at length arrived, they found the markets fo glutted by this illicit commerce, that there was no demand for the commodities with which they were loaded. In order to remedy this, Spain permitted a confiderable part of her commerce with Ameri-

ca, to be carried on by register ships. These are BOOK fitted out, during the intervals between the flated VIII. feasons when the Galeons and Flota fail, by merchants in Seville or Cadiz, upon obtaining a licence from the council of the Indies, for which they pay a very high premium, and are destined for those ports where any extraordinary demand is foreseen or expected. By this expedient, such a regular supply of fresh commodities is conveyed to the American market, that the interloper is no longer allured by the same prospect of excessive gain, or the people in the colonies urged by the fame necessity to engage in the hazardous adventures of contraband trade.

In proportion as experience manifested the ad- The galeons vantages of carrying on trade in this mode, the number of register ships increased; and at length. in the year 1748, the Galeons, after having been employed upwards of two centuries, were finally abolished. From that period there has been no intercourfe with Chili and Peru but by fingle ships. dispatched from time to time as occasion requires. and when the merchants expect a market will open. These sail round Cape Horn, and convey directly to the ports in the South Sea the productions and manufactures of Europe, for which the people fettled in those countries were formerly obliged to repair to Porto-bello or Panama. These towns. as has been formerly observed, must gradually decline, when deprived of that commerce to which they owed their existence. This disadvantage however is more than compensated, for the whole continent of South America receives supplies of European commodities, with fo much regularity, and in fuch abundance, as must contribute greatly to the happiness and prosperity of all the colonies fettled there. But as all the register ships destined for the South Seas, must still take their departure

VIII. this branch of the American commerce, even in its new and improved form, continues subject to the restraints of a species of monopoly, and feels those pernicious effects of it, which I have already described.

Schemes for reviving commerce.

Noz has the attention of Spain been confined to regulating the trade with its flourishing colonies, it has extended likewise to the reviving commerce in those settlements where it was neglected, or had decayed. Among the new taftes which the people of Europe have acquired, in consequence of their intercourse with the natives of those countries which they conquered in America, that for chocolate is one of the most universal. The use of this liquor made with a paste, formed of the nut, or almond of the cacao tree, compounded with various ingredients, the Spaniards first learned from the Mexicans; and it has appeared to them, and to the other European nations, so palatable, so nourishing, and so wholesome, that it has become a commercial article of considerable importance. The cacao-tree grows spontaneously in several parts of the torrid zone; but the nuts of the best quality, next to those of Guatimala, on the South Sea, are produced in the rich plains of Caraccas, a province of Tierra Firme. In consequence of this acknowledged superiority in the quality of cacao in that province, and its communication with the Atlantic, which facilitates the conveyance to Europe, the culture of the cacao there is more extensive than in any district of America. But the Dutch, by the vicinity of the fettlements in the small islands of Curazoa and Buen-Ayre, to the coast of Caraccas, gradually ingrossed the greatest part of the cacao trade. The traffic with the mother-country for this valuable commodity ceased almost

HISTORY OF AMERICA.

almost entirely; and such was the supine negligence BOOK of the Spaniards, or the defects of their commercial arrangements, that they were obliged to receive from the hands of foreigners this production of their own colonies, at an exorbitant price. In order to remedy an evil no less disgraceful, than pernicious to his subjects, Philip V. in the year 1728, by establish. granted to a body of merchants, an exclusive ing the comright to the commerce with Caraccas and Cumana, pany of Caon condition of their employing, at their own expence, a fufficient number of armed veffels to clear the coast of interlopers. This society diftinguished sometimes by the name of the Company of Guipuscoa, from the province of Spain in which it is established, and sometimes by that of the Company of Caraccas, from the district of America to which it trades, has carried on its operations with fuch vigour and fuccess, that Spain has recovered an important branch of commerce, which she had suffered to be wrested from her, and is plentifully supplied with an article of extensive confumption at a moderate price. Not only the parent state, but the colony of Caraccas, has derived great advantages from this institution; for although, at the first aspect, it may appear to be one of those monopolies, whose tendency is to check the spirit of industry, instead of calling it forth to new exertions, it has been prevented from operating in this manner, by feveral falutary regulations, framed upon forelight of fuch bad effects, and of purpose to obviate them. The planters in the Caraccas are not left to depend entirely on the company, either for the importation of European commodities, or the fale of their own productions. The inhabitants of the Canary Islands have the privilege of fending thither annually a register ship of confiderable burden; and from Vera Cruz in New Spain, a free trade is permitted in every port comprehended in the charter of the company. In confequence

book consequence of this, there is such a competition, that both with respect to what the colonies purchase, and what they sell, the price seems to be fixed at its natural and equitable rate. The company has not the power of raising the former, or degrading the latter at pleasure; and accordingly, since it was established, the increase of culture, of population, and of live stock, in the province of Caraccas has been very considerable.

Enlargement of commercial ideas in Spain.

Bur as it is flowly that nations relinquish any fystem which time has rendered venerable, or that commerce can be diverted from the channel in which it has long been accustomed to flow; Philip V. in his new regulations concerning the American trade, paid fuch deference to the ancient maxim of Spain, concerning the limitation of all importation from the New World to one harbour, as to oblige both the register ships which returned from Peru, and those of the Guiposcoan Company from Caraccas, to deliver their cargoes in the portof Cadiz. Since his reign, fentiments more liberal and enlarged begin to spread in Spain. The spirit of philosophical inquiry, which it is the glory of the present age to have turned from frivolous or abstruse speculations, to the business and affairs of men, has extended its influence beyond the Pirenees. In the refearches of ingenious authors, concerning the police or commerce of nations, the errors and defects of the Spanish system with refpect to both met every eye, and have not only been exposed with severity, but are held up as a warning to other states. The Spaniards, stung with their reproaches, or convinced by their arguments, and admonished by several enlightened writers of their own country, feem at length to have discovered the destructive tendency of those

narrow maxims, which, by cramping commerce BOOK in all its operations, have follong retarded its progress. It is to the monarch now on the throne. that Spain is indebted for the first public regulation formed in consequence of those ideas.

WHILE Spain adhered with rigour to her ancient Establishmaxims concerning her commerce with America, gular packet the was so much afraid of opening any channel, boats. by which an illicit trade might find admission into the colonies, that she almost shut herself out from any intercourse with them, but that which was carried on by her annual fleets. There was no establishment for a regular communication of either public or private intelligence, between the mother-country and its American fettlements. From the want of this necessary institution, the operations of the state, and the business of individuals, were retarded or conducted unskilfully. and Spain often received from foreigners her first information with respect to very interesting events in her own colonies. But though this defect in police was fenfibly felt, and the remedy for it was obvious, that jealous spirit with which the Spanish monarchs guarded the exclusive trade, restrained them from applying it. At length Charles III. furmounted those considerations which had deterred his predecessors, and in the year 1764, appointed packet-boats to be dispatched on the first day of each month, from Corugna to the Havanna or Porto-Rico. From thence letters are conveved in smaller vessels to Vera Cruz and Portobello, and transmitted by post through the kingdoms of Tierra Firmè, Granada, Peru, and New Spain. With no less regularity packet-boats fail once in two months to Rio de la Plata, for the accommodation of the provinces to the east of the Andes. Thus provision is made for a speedy and

BOOK certain circulation of intelligence throughout the vaft dominions of Spain, from which equal advantages must redound to the political and mercantile interest of the kingdom P. With this new arrangement, a scheme of extending commerce has been more immediately connected. Each of the packet-boats which are vessels of some considerable burden, is allowed to take in half a loading of fuch commodities as are the product of Spain, and most in demand in the ports whither they are bound. In return for these they may bring home to Corugna an equal quantity of American productions q. This may be confidered as the first relaxations of those rigid laws, which confined the trade with the New World to a fingle port, and the first attempt to admit the rest of the kingdom to some share in it.

Free trade feveral provinces.

IT was foon followed by one more decifive. In permitted to the year 1765, Charles HI. laid open the trade to the windward islands, Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad, to his fubjects in every province of Spain. He permitted them to fail from certain ports in each of these specified in the edict, at any feafon, and with whatever cargo they deemed most proper, without any other warrant than a simple clearance from the custom-house of the place whence they took their departure. He released them from the numerous and oppresfive duties imposed on goods exported to America, and in place of the whole substituted a moderate tax of fix in the hundred on the commodities fent from Spain. He allowed them to return either to the fame port, or to any other where they might hope for a more advantageous market, and there to enter the homeward cargoe, on payment of the usual duties. This ample privilege which

p Ponz Viage de Espagna, vi. Prol. p. 15.

q Append. ii. a la Educ. Pop. p. 31.

HISTORY OF AMERICA.

once broke through all the fences, which the jea-BOOK lous policy of Spain had been labouring for two centuries and a half to throw round its commercial intercourse with the New World, was soon after extended to Louisiana, and to the provinces of Yucatan and Campeachy.

THE propriety of this innovation, which may Beneficial be confidered as the most liberal effort of Spanish effects of it. legislation, has appeared from its effects. to the edict in favour of the free trade, Spain derived hardly any benefit from its neglected colonies in Hispaniola, Porto-Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad. Its commerce with Cuba was inconfiderable, and that of Yucatan and Campeachy was ingroffed almost entirely by interlopers. But as foon as a general liberty of trade was permitted, the intercourfe with those provinces revived, and has gone on with a rapidity of progression, of which there are few examples in the history of nations. In less than ten years, the trade of Cuba has been more than tripled. Even in those fettlements where, from the languishing state of industry, greater efforts were requisite to restore its activity. their commerce has been doubled. It is computed, that fuch a number of ships is already employed in the free trade, that the tonnage of them far exceeds that of the Galeons and Flota, at the most flourishing æra of their commerce. The benefits of this arrangement are not confined to a few merchants, established in a favourite port. They are diffused through every province of the king-dom; and by opening a new market for their various productions and manufactures, must encourage and add vivacity to the industry of the farmer and artificer. Nor does the kingdom profit

r Append. ii. a la Educ. Pop. 37. 54. 91.

271

VIII.

BOOK profit only by what it exports, it derives advantage likewise from what it receives in return, and has the prospect of being soon able to supply itfelf with feveral commodities of extensive confumption, for which it formerly depended on foreigners. The confumption of fugar in Spain is perhaps as great in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, as that of any European kingdom. But though possessed of countries in the New World, whose foil and climate are most proper for rearing that valuable plant, though the domestic culture of the fugar-cane in the kingdom of Granada was once confiderable, fuch has been the fatal tendency of its inftitutions in America. and fuch the pressure of injudicious taxes in Europe, that Spain has loft almost entirely this branch of industry, which has enriched other This commodity, which has now become an article of primary necessity in Europe, the Spaniards were obliged to purchase of foreigners, and had the mortification to fee their country drained annually of an immense sum on that account's. But if that spirit, which the permission of free trade has put in motion, shall persevere in its efforts with the same vigour, the cultivation of fugar in Cuba and Porto Rico, may increase so much, that in a few years their growth may be equal to the demand of the kingdom.

Free trade permitted colonies.

HER experience of the beneficial confequences between the refulting from having relaxed somewhat of the rigour of her ancient laws with respect to the commerce of the mother-country with the colonies, has induced Spain to permit a more liberal intercourse of one colony with another. By one of the jealous maxims of the old system. all communication between the various pro-

vinces

vinces fituated on the South Seas, was prohibited BOOK under the most severe penalties. Though each of these yield peculiar productions, the reciprocal exchange of which might have added to the hapiness of their respective inhabitants, or have facilitated their progress in industry, so solicitous was the Council of the Indies, to prevent their receiving any supply of their wants but by the periodical fleets from Europe; that in order to guard against this. it cruelly debarred the Spaniards in Peru, in New Spain, in Guatimala, and the New Kingdom of Granada, from such a correspondence with their fellow subjects, as tended manifestly to their mutual prosperity. Of all the numerous restrictions devised by Spain for securing the exclusive trade with her American fettlements, none perhaps was more illiberal, none feems to have been more fenfibly felt, or to have produced more hurtful effects. This grievance coeval with the settlements of Spain in the New World, is at last redressed. In the year 1774, Charles III. published an edict, granting to the four vast provinces which I have mentioned, the privilege of a free trade with each other. What may be the effects of opening this communication between countries destined by their situation for reciprocal intercourse, cannot yet be determined by experience. They can hardly fail of being beneficial and extensive. The motives for granting this permission are manifestly no less laudable, than the principle on which it is founded is liberal; and both discover the progress of a spirit in Spain far elevated above the narrow prejudices and maxims on which their fystem for regulating the trade, and conducting the government of their colonies, was originally founded. VOL. III. AT

t Real Cedula penes me. Ponz. Viage de Espagna, vi. Prologo, p. 2. NOTE LXIX.

274

BOOK VIII. New regulations concerning the

government of the colonies.

Ar the same time that Spain has been intent on introducing regulations, fuggefted by more enlarged views of policy, into her system of American commerce, she has not been inattentive to the interior government of her colonies. too there was much room for reformation and improvement, and Don Joseph Galvez, who has now the direction of the department for Indian affairs in Spain, has enjoyed the best opportunities, not only of observing the defects and corruption in the political frame of the colonies, but of difcovering the fources of those evils. After being employed feven years in the New World on an extraordinary mission, and with very extensive powers, as inspector-general of New Spain, after visiting in person the remote provinces of Cinaloa, Sonora, and California, and making feveral important alterations in the flate of their police and revenue; he began his ministry with a general re-Reformation formation of the tribunals of justice in America. of the courts In confequence of the progress of population and wealth in the colonies, the business of the Courts of Audience has increased so much that the number of judges of which they were originally composed, has been found inadequate to the growing labours and duties of the office, and the falaries fettled upon them, inferior to the dignity of the As a remedy for both, he obtained a station. royal edict, establishing an additional number of judges in each court of Audience, with higher titles and more ample appointments ".

New diffribution of go-

of justice.

To the fame intelligent minister Spain is invernments, debted for a new diffribution of government in its American provinces. Even fince the eftablishment of a third viceroyalty in the New King-

dom of Granada, fo prodigious is the extent of the BOOK Spanish dominions in the New World, that several places subject to the jurisdiction of each of the viceroys, were at fuch an enormous distance from the capitals in which they refided, that neither their attention, nor their authority, could reach them. Some provinces subordinate to the viceroy of New Spain, lay above two thousand miles from Mexico. There are countries subject to the viceroy of Peru still farther from Lima. The people in those remote districts, could hardly be faid to enjoy the benefit of civil government. The oppression and insolence of its inferior minifters they often feel, and rather submit to these in filence, than involve themselves in the expence and trouble of reforting to the distant capitals, New vicewhere alone they can find redrefs. As a remedy royalty Aufor this, a fourth viceroyalty has been erected, to gult 1776, on Rio de la the jurisdiction of which are subjected the pro-Plata. vinces of Rio de la Plata, Buenos-Ayres, Para. guay, Tucuman, Potofi, Sta. Cruz de la Sierra, Charcas, and the towns of Mendoza and St. Juan. By this well judged arrangement, two advantages are gained. All the inconveniences occasioned by the remote situation of those provinces, which had been long felt, and long complained of are removed. The countries most diftant from Lima are separated from the vice-royalty of Peru, and united under a fuperior, whose feat of government at Buenos Ayres will be commodious and accessible. The contraband trade with the Portuguese, which was become so extensive, as must have put a final stop to the exportation of commodities from Spain to her fouthern colonies, may be checked more thoroughly, and with greater facility, when the supreme magistrate, by his vicinity to the places in which it is carried on, can view its progrefs and effects with his own eyes. Don Pedro Zevallos, who has been raised to this new dignity, with appointments equal

276

BOOK to those of the other viceroys, is well acquainted both with the state and the interest of the countries over which he is to prefide, having ferved in them long and with diffinction. By this difmemberment, fucceeding that which took place at the erection of the vice royalty of the New Kingdom of Granada, almost two third parts of the territories originally subject to the vice-roys of Peru, are now lopped off from their jurisdiction.

New go-

THE limits of the vice-royalty of New Spain provinces of have likewise been considerably circumscribed, Sonora, &c. and with no less propriety and discernment. Four of its most remote provinces, Sonora, Cinaloa, California, and New Navarre, have been formed into a separate government. The Chevalier de Croix, who is intrufted with this command, is not dignified with the title of viceroy, nor does he enjoy the appointments belonging to that rank, but his jurisdiction and authority is altogether independent on the vice-royalty of New Spain. The erection of this last government seems to have been suggested, not only by the consideration of the remote situation of those provinces from Mexico; but by attention to the late discoveries made there, which I have mentioned y. Countries con--taining fuch riches, and which probably may rife into fuch importance, required the immediate inspection of a governor, to whom they were specially committed. As every confideration of duty, of interest, and of vanity, must concur in prompting those new governors to encourage such exertions as tend to diffuse opulence and prosperity through the provinces committed to their charge, the beneficial effects of this arrangement may be confiderable. Many diffricts in America long depressed by the languor and feebleness natural to provinces which compose the extremities of an overgrown

y Book vii. p. 181.

overgrown empire, may be animated with vigour BOOK and activity when brought so near the seat of VIII. power, as to feel its invigorating influence.

Such, fince the accession of the Bourbons to the Attempts to throne of Spain, has been the progress of their re-mestic policy. gulations, and the gradual expansion of their views with respect to the commerce and government of their American colonies. Nor has their attention been so entirely engrossed by what related to the more remote parts of their dominions, as to render them neglectful of what was still more important, the reformation of domestic errors and defects in policy. Fully fenfible of the causes to which the declension of Spain, from her former prosperity, ought to be imputed; they have made it a great object of their policy, to revive a spirit of industry among their subjects, and to give such extent and perfection to their manufactures, that they may be able to supply the demands of America from their own flock, and to exclude foreigners from a branch of commerce which has been so fatal to the kingdom. This they have endeavoured to accomplish, by a variety of edicts issued fince the peace of Utrecht. They have granted bounties for the encouragement of some branches of industry: they have lowered the taxes on others; they have prohibited, or have loaded with additional duties, fuch foreign manufactures as come in competition with them; they have inftituted focieties for the improvement of trade and agriculture; they have planted colonies of husbandmen in some uncultivated diffricts of Spain, and divided among them the waste fields; they have had recourse to evely expedient devised by commercial wisdom, or commercial jealousy, for reviving their own industry, and discountenancing that of other na-These, however, it is not my province to explain,

BOOK explain, or to inquire into their propriety and effects. There is no effort of legislation more arduous, no experiment in policy more uncertain, than an attempt to revive the spirit of industry where it has declined, or to introduce it where it is unknown. Nations already possessed of extensive commerce, enter into competition with fuch advantages, derived from the large capitals of their merchants, the dexterity of their manufacturers, the alertness acquired by habit in every department of business, that the state which aims at rivalling, or supplanting them, must expect to struggle with many difficulties, and be content to advance flowly. If the quantity of productive industry now in Spain, be compared with that of the kingdom under the liftless monarchs of the Austrian line, its progress must appear considerable, and is sufficient to alarm the jealousy, and to call forth the most vigorous efforts of the nations now in possession of the lucrative trade which the Spaniards aim at wresting from them. One circumftance may render those exertions of Spain an object of more serious attention to the other European powers. They are not to be ascribed wholly to the influence of the crown and its minifters. The fentiments and spirit of the people feem to fecond the provident care of their monarchs and to give it greater effect. have adopted more liberal ideas, not only with respect to commerce, but domestic policy. In all their later writers, defects in their arrangements concerning both are acknowledged, and remedies proposed, which pride would not have allowed their ancestors to confess, and ignorance rendered them incapable of discerning x. But after all that the Spaniards have done, much remains to do. Many pernicious inftitutions and abuses deeply

deeply incorporated with the fystem of internal BOOK policy and taxation, which has been long established in Spain, must be abolished before industry and manufactures can recover an extensive activity.

STILL, however, the commercial regulations Contraband of Spain with respect to her colonies, are too ri-trade. gid and systematical to be carried into complete execution. The legislature that loads trade with impositions too heavy, or fetters it by restrictions too severe, defeats its own intention; and, in truth, is only multiplying the inducements to violate its flatutes, and proposing an high premium to encourage illicit traffic. The Spaniards, both in Europe and America, circumscribed in their mutual intercourse by the jealousy, or oppressed by the exactions of the crown, have their invention continually on the stretch how to elude The vigilance and ingenuity of private interest discover means of effecting this, which public wisdom cannot foresee, nor public authority prevent. This fpirit, counteracting that of the laws, pervades the commerce of Spain with America in all its branches; and from the highest departments in government, descends to the lowest. The very officers appointed to check contraband trade, are often employed as instruments in carrying it on; and the boards inflituted to restrain and punish it, are the channels through which it flows. The king is supposed to be defrauded by various artifices, of more than one half of the revenue which he ought to receive from Americay; and as long as it is the interest of fo many persons to screen those artifices from detection, the knowledge of them will never reach the throne. "How " many ordinances, fays Corita, how many in-" ftructions.

BOOK " structions, how many letters from our fove-" reign, are fent in order to correct abuses, and how " little are they observed, and what small advana tage is derived from them. To me the old " observation appears just, that where there are many physicians, and many medicines, there is a want of health; where there are many " laws, and many judges there is a want of juffice. We have viceroys, presidents, governors, oydors, " corrigidors, alcaldes, and thousands of algua-" zils abound every where; but notwithstanding " all these, public abuses continue to multiply 2." Time has increased the evils which he lamented as early as the reign of Philip II. A spirit of corruption has infected all the colonies of Spain in America. Men far removed from the feat of government, impatient to acquire wealth, that they may return speedily from what they are apt to consider as a state of exile in a remote unhealthful country, allured by opportunities too tempting to be refifted, and feduced by the example of those around them, find their senti-

Trade bes tween New

\$ 564.

BEFORE I close this account of the Spanish spain and the trade in America, there remains one detached. Philippines. but important branch of it, to be mentioned. Soon after his accession to the throne, Philip II. formed a scheme of planting a colony in the Philippine islands, which had been neglected fince the time of their discovery a; and he accomplished it by means of an armament fitted out from New Spain b. Manila, in the island of Luconia, was the station

ments of honour and of duty gradually relax. In private life, they give themselves up to a dissolute luxury, while in their public conduct they become unmindful of what they owe to their fo-

vereign and their country.

MS. penes me. Book v. p, 299 &c. b Torquem, lib. v. e. 14.

station chosen for the capital of this new establish- BOOK ment. From it an active commercial intercourse began with the Chinese, and a considerable number of that industrious people, allured by the prospect of gain, fettled in the Philippines under the Spanish protection. They supplied the colony so amply with all the valuable productions and manufactures of the East, as enabled it to open a trade with America, by a course of navigation the longeft from land to land on our globe. In the infancy of this trade, it was carried on with Callao, on the coast of Peru; but experience having discovered many difficulties in this mode of communication, the staple of this commerce between the east and west was removed from Callao to Acapulco. on the coast of New Spain.

AFTER various arrangements, it has been brought into a regular form. One or two ships depart annually from Acapulco, which may carry out filver to the amount of five hundred thousand pefos c, but have hardly any thing elfe of value on board; in return for which, they bring back spices, drugs, china, and japan wares, callicoes, chintz, muslins, filks, and every precious article with which the benignity of the climate, or the ingenuity of its people, have enabled the East to supply the rest of the world. For some time the merchants of Peru were admitted to participate in this traffic, and might fend annually a ship to Acapulco, to wait the arrival of the vessels from Manila, and receive a proportional share of the commodities which they imported. At length, the Peruvians were excluded by most rigorous edicts. and all the commodities from the East reserved folely for the confumption of New Spain.

IN

BOOK VIII.

In consequence of this Indulgence, the inhabitants of that country enjoy advantages unknown in the other Spanish colonies. The manufactures of the East are not only more fuited to a warm climate, and more showy than those of Europe. but can be fold at a lower price; while at the same time, the profits upon them are so considerable, as to enrich all those who are employed, either in bringing them from Manila, or vending them in New Spain. As the interest both of the buyer and feller concurred in favouring this branch of commerce, it continued to extend in spite of regulations, concerted with the most anxious jealoufy to circumscribe it. Under cover of what the laws permit to be imported, vast quantities of India goods are poured into the markets of New Spain d, and when the flota arrives at Vera Cruz. it often finds the wants of the people already supplied by cheaper and more acceptable commodities.

THERE is not in the commercial arrangements of Spain, any circumstance more inexplicable than the permission of this trade between New Spain and the Philippines, or more repugnant to its fundamental maxim of holding the colonies in perpetual dependance on the mother-country, by prohibiting any commercial intercourse that might fuggest to them the idea of receiving a supply of their wants from any other quarter. This permiffion must appear still more extraordinary, from confidering that Spain herself carries on no direct trade with her fettlements in the Philippines, and grants a privilege to one of her American colonies. which she denies to her subjects in Europe. probable, that the colonists which originally took possession of the Philippines, having been sent out from New Spain, begun this intercourse with a country

country which they confidered, in fome measure. BOOK as their parent state, before the court of Madrid was aware of its confequences, or could eftablish regulations in order to prevent it. Many remonstrances have been presented against this trade, as detrimental to Spain, by diverting into another channel, a large portion of that treasure which ought to flow into the kingdom, as tending to give rife to a spirit of independence in the colonies, and to encourage innumerable frauds, against which it was impossible to guard, in transactions fo far removed from the inspection of government, But as it requires no flight effort of political wifdom and vigour to abolish any practice, which numbers are interested in supporting, and to which time has added the fanction of its authority, the commerce betwixt Acapulco and Manila feems to be as confiderable as ever, and may be confidered as one chief cause of the elegance and splendor conspicuous in this part of the Spanish dominions.

Bur notwithstanding this general corruption in Public rese the colonies, and all the defalcations of the public America. revenue, by the illicit importation of foreign commodities, or by the fraudulent arts of its own fubjects, the Spanish monarchs receive a very confiderable fum from their American dominions. This arises from taxes of various kinds, which may be divided into three capital branches. The first contains what is paid to the king, as fovereign, or fuperior lord of the New World: to this class belongs the duty on the gold and filver raised from the mines, and the tribute exacted from the Indians; the former is termed by the Spaniards the right of figniority, the latter is the duty of vallalage. The fecond branch comprehends the numerous duties upon commerce, which accompany and oppress it in every step of its progress, from the greatest transactions of the wholesale merchant, to the

BOOK the petty traffic of the vender by retail. The VIII. third includes what accrues to the king, as head of the church, and administrator of ecclesiastical funds in the New World. In consequence of this he receives the first fruits, annats, spoils, and other spiritual revenues levied by the apostolic chamber in Europe; and is entitled likewife, to the profit arising from the sale of the bull of Cruzado. This, which is published every two years, contains an absolution from past offences by the Pope, and, among other immunities, a permiffion to eat several kinds of prohibited food, during Lent, and on meagre days. The monks employed in dispersing those bulls, extol their virtues with all the fervour of interested eloquence; the people, ignorant and credulous, liften with implicit affent; and every person in the Spanish colonies, of European, Creolian, or mixed race, purchases a bull, which is deemed essential to his salvation, at the rate fet upon it by government .

Its amount. What may be the amount of those various funds, it is almost impossible to determine with precision. The extent of the Spanish dominions in America, the jealoufy of government, which renders them inaccessible to foreigners, the mysterous filence which the Spaniards are accustomed to observe with respect to the interior state of their colonies, combine in covering this subject with a veil which it is not easy to remove. But an account, apparently no lefs accurate, than it is curious, has lately been published of the royal revenue in New Spain, from which we may form some idea with respect to what is collected in the other provinces. According to that account the crown

e See NOTE LXXII.

does not receive from all the departments of tax-BOOK ation in New Spain, above a million of our money, from which one half must be deducted as the expence of the provincial establishments. Peru, it is probable, yields a fum not inferior to this. and if we suppose that all the other regions of America, including the islands, furnish a third share of equal value; we shall not perhaps be far wide from the truth, if we conclude, that the net public revenue of Spain, raifed in America, does not exceed a million and a half sterling. far short of the immense sums, to which suppositions, founded upon conjecture, have raifed the Spanish revenue in America s. It is remarkable, however, upon one account. Spain and Portugal are the only European powers, who derive a direct revenue from their colonies as their quota towards defraying the general expence of government. All the advantage that accrues to other nations. from their American dominions, arises from the exclusive enjoyment of their trade; but befide this, Spain has brought her colonies to contribute to increase the power of the state; and in return for protection, to bear a proportional share of the common burden.

ACCORDINGLY, what I have computed as the amount of the Spanish revenue from America, comprehends only the taxes collected there, and is far from being the whole of what accrues to the king from his dominions in the New World. The heavy duties imposed on the commodities exported from Spain to Americah, as well as what is paid by those which she sends home in return; the tax upon the negroe-slaves, with which Africa supplies

f See NOTE LXXIII, b See NOTE LXXV. g See NOTE LXXIV.

branches of finance, bring large fums into the treasury, the precise extent of which I cannot pretend to ascertain.

Expence of administra-

But if the revenue which Spain draws from America be great, the expence of administration in her colonies bears proportion to it. In every department, even of her domestic police and finances. Spain thas adopted a system more complex. and more encumbered with a variety of tribunals, and a multitude of officers, than that of any European nation, in which the fovereign possesses fuch extensive power. From the jealous spirit with which she watches over her American settlements, and her endeavours to guard against fraud in provinces so remote from inspection; boards and officers have been multiplied there with still more anxious attention. In a country where the expence of living is great, the falaries allotted to every person in public office must be high, and must load the revenue with an immense burden. The parade of government greatly augments the weight of it. The viceroys of Mexico, Peru, and the New Kingdom of Granada, as representatives of the king's person, among people fond of oftentation, maintain all the state and dignity of royalty. Their courts are formed upon the model of that at Madrid, with horse and foot guards, a household regularly established, numerous attendants, and enfigns of power, displaying such pomp, as hardly retains the appearance of a delegated authority. All the expence incurred by supporting the external and permanent order of government is defrayed by the crown. The viceroys have befides peculiar appointments fuited to their exalted The falaries fixed by law are indeed exstation. tremely moderate, that of the viceroy of Peru is only thirty thousand ducats; and that of the vice-

roy

roy of Mexico twenty thousand ducats. Of late, BOOK they have been raised to forty thousand.

THESE falaries, however, conflitute but a small part of their revenue. The exercise of an absolute authority extending to every department of government, and the power of disposing of many lucrative offices, affords to them innumerable opportunities of accumulating wealth. To thefe. which may be confidered as legal and allowed emoluments, vast sums are often added by exactions, which in countries fo far removed from the feat of government, it is not easy to discover, and impossible to restrain. By monopolizing some branches of commerce, by a lucrative concern in others, by conniving at the frauds of merchants, a viceroy may rife fuch an annual revenue, as no fubject of any European monarch enjoysk. From the fingle article of prefents made to him on the anniversary of his Name-day (which is always obferved as an high festival), I am informed that a viceroy has been known to receive fixty thousand pefos. According to a Spanish saying, the legal revenues of a viceroy are known, his real profits depend upon his opportunities and his conscience. Conscious of this, the kings of Spain, as I have formerly observed, grant a commission to their viceroy only for a few years. This circumstance. however, renders them often more rapacious, and adds to the ingenuity and ardour wherewith they labour to improve every moment of power which they know is haftening fast to a period; and short as its duration is, it usually affords sufficient time for repairing a shattered fortune, or creating a new one. But even in fituations fo trying to human frailty, there are inftances of virtue that remain unseduced. In the year 1772, the Marquis

i Recop. lib. iii. tit. iii. c. 72.

able a philaterus of the entirety of

BOO K de Croix finished the term of his viceroyalty in VIII. in New Spain with unsuspected integrity; and instead of bringing home exorbitant wealth, returned with the admiration and applause of a grateful people, whom his government had rendered happy.

which may be confidend as less and allowed croplements, which is demand a content alided by exact dient, which is committed of a content alided by exact dient of governments, it is not car we discovered the amountained of a content dient di

Configuration with the state of South and have supported to their a communities to their ristroy only for a south vestion. The election happy have sever, rendered been off in more remarkable, and

small based business of that gottom tatted world world

as its duration it, it utantifes l'ords fait il en tiens Le repairing a reserved forcers, cir cressing a

new one. Burer in in inustions' to myling to the new fraitry, there are infinitees of viriue that re-

Recop. Its ill. its ill. c. 72,

* Section TE CIV.

la del ser goment de marie de la company de

NOTES

AND

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Vol. III.

U

As the Charles to be produced the land of the second

O W

LLUSTRATIONS

S SMERTON

the test of the state of

NOTES

AND

ILLUSTRATIONS.

NOTE I. p. 1.

IN tracing the progress of the Spanish arms in New Spain, we have followed Cortes himself as our most certain guide. His dispatches to the emperor contain a minute account of his operations. But the unlettered conqueror of Peru was incapable of relating his own exploits. Our information with respect to them is derived however from contemporary and respectable authors.

THE most early account of Pizarro's transactions in Peru, was published by Francisco de Xerez, his secretary. It is a simple unadorned narrative, carried down no farther than the death of Atahualpa, in 1533; for the author returned to Spain in 1534, and soon after he landed, printed at Seville his short History of the Conquest of Peru, addressed to the emperor.

Don Pedro Sancho, an officer who ferved under Pizarro, drew up an account of his expedition, which was translated into Italian by Ramusio, and inserted in his valuable collection, but has never been published in its original language. Sancho returned to Spain at the same time with Xerez. Great credit is due to what both those authors relate concerning the progress and opera-

U 2 tions

tions of Pizarro, but the residence of the Spaniards in Peru had been so short, at the time when they lest it, and their intercourse with the natives so slender, that their knowledge of the Peruvian manners and customs is very impersect.

THE next contemporary historian is Pedro Cieza de Leon, who published his Chronica del Peru, at Seville in 1553. If he had finished all that he proposes in the general division of his work, it would have been the most complete history which had been published of any region in the New World. He was well qualified to execute it, having served during seventeen years in America, and visited in person most of the provinces concerning which he had occasion to write. But only the first part of his Chronicle has been printed. It contains a description of Peru, and several of the adjacent provinces, with an account of the institutions and customs of the natives, and is written with so little art, and such an apparent regard for truth, that one must regret the loss of the other parts of his work.

This loss is amply fupplied by Don Augustine Zarate, who published, in 1555, his Historia del descubrimiento y Conquesta de la Provincia del Peru. Zarate was a man of rank and education, and employed in Peru as comptroller general of the public revenue. His history, whether we attend to its matter or composition, is a book of considerable merit; as he had opportunity to be well informed, and seems to have been inquisitive with respect to the manners and transactions of the Peruvians, great credit is due to his testimony.

Don Diego Fernandez published his Historia del Peru in 1571. His sole object is to relate the dissensions and civil wars of the Spaniards in that empire. As he served in a public station in Peru, and was well acquainted both with the country, and with the principal actors in those singular scenes which he describes, as he possessed found understanding, and great impartiality, his work may be ranked among those of the historians most distinguished for their industry in research, or their capacity in judging with respect to the events which they relate.

THE last author who can be reckoned among the contemporary historians of the conquest of Peru, is Garcilaso dela Vega, Inca. For though the first part of this work, intitled, Comentarios Reales del Origen de los Incas Reies del Peru, was not published sooner than the year 1600. feventy-fix years after the death of Atahualpa the laft emperor, yet as he was born in Peru, and was the fon of an officer of distinction among the Spanish conquerors, by a Caya, or lady of the royal race, on account of which he always took the name of Inca, as he was mafter of the language spoken by the Incas, and acquainted with the traditions of his countrymen, his authority is rated very high, and often placed above that of all the other historians. His work, however, is little more than a commentary upon the Spanish writers of the Peruvian story, and composed of quotations taken from the authors whom I have mentioned. This is the idea which he himself gives of it; Lib. i. c. 10. Nor is it in the account of facts only that he follows them fervile-Even in explaining the inftitutions and rites of his ancestors, his information seems not to be more perfect than theirs. His explanation of the Quipos is almost the same with that of Acosta. He produces no fpecimen of Peruvian poetry, but that wretched one which he borrows from Blas Valera, an early missionary, whose memoirs have never been published. Lib. ii. c. 15. As for composition, arrangement, or a capacity of diftinguishing between what is fabulous, what is probable, and what is true, one fearches for them in vain in the commentaries of Inca. His work, however, notwithstanding its great defects, is not altogether destitute Some traditions which he received from his countrymen are preserved in it. His knowledge of the Peruvian language has enabled him to correct fome errors of the Spanish writers, and he has inferted in it some curious facts taken from authors whose works were never published, and are now lost.

Perugaha could promie no green han finite hades.

NOTE II. p. 6.

ONE may form an idea both of the hardships which they endured, and of the regions which they visited, from the extraordinary mortality that prevailed among them. Pizarro carried out 112 men, Almagro 70. In less than nine months 130 of these died. Few fell by the sword; most of them were cut off by diseases. Xerez, p. 180.

NOTE III. p. 9.

THIS island, says Herrera, is rendered so uncomfortable by the unwholesomeness of its climate, its impenetrable woods, its rugged mountains, and the multitude of insects and reptiles, that it is seldom any softer
epithet than that of insernal is employed in describing
it. The sun is almost never seen there, and throughout
the year it hardly ever ceases to rain. Dec. iii. lib. x. c.
3. Dampier touched at this island in the year 1685;
and his account of the climate is not more favourable.
Vol. 1. p. 172. He, during his cruize on that coast,
visited most of the places where Pizarro landed, and his
description of them throws light on the narrations of
the early Spanish historians.

NOTE IV. p. 23.

By this time horses had multiplied greatly in the Spanish settlements on the continent. When Cortes began his expedition in the year 1518, though his armament was more considerable than that of Pizarro, and composed of persons superior in rank to those who invaded Peru, he could procure no more than sixteen horses.

H-O-L

NOTE V. p. 25.

In the year 1740, D. Ant. Ulloa, and D. George Juan, travelled from Guayquil to Motupe, by the same route which Pizarro took. From the description of their journey, one may form an idea of the difficulty of his march. The sandy plains between St. Michael de Piura and Motupe extend 90 miles, without water, without a tree, a plant, or any green thing, on a dreary stretch of burning sand. Voyage, tom. i. p. 399, &c.

NOTE VI. p. 29.

HIS extravagant and unfeafonable discourse of Valverde has been cenfured by all historians, and with justice. But though he seems to have been an illiterate and bigotted monk, nowife refembling the good Olmedo, who accompanied Cortes; the abfurdity of his address to Atahualpa must not be charged wholly upon him. His harangue is evidently a translation, or paraphrase of that form, concerted by a junto of Spanish divines and lawyers in the year 1500, for explaining the right of their king to the fovereignty of the New World, and for directing the officers employed in America how they should take possession of any new country. See Vol. i. Note xxiii. The fentiments contained in Valverde's harangue must not then be imputed to the bigotted imbecillity of a particular man, but to that of the age. Gomara and Benzoni relate one circumstance concerning Valverde, which, if authentic, renders him an object not of contempt only, but of horror. They affert, that during the whole action, Valverde continued to excite the foldiers to flaughter, calling to them to strike the enemy not with the edge, but with the points of their fwords. Gom. Cron. c. 113. Benz. Histor. Nov. Orbis, lib, iii. c. 3. Such behaviour was very different from that of the Roman Catholic clergy in other parts of America, where they uniformly exerted their influence to protect the Indians, and to moderate the ferocity of their countrymen. NOTE

NOTE VII. p. 30.

I WO different fystems have been formed concerning the conduct of Atahualpa. The Spanish writers, in order to justify the violence of their countrymen, contend, that all the Inca's professions of friendship were feigned; and that his intention in agreeing to an interview with Pizarro at Caxamalca, was to cut off him and his followers at one blow; that for this purpose he advanced with fuch a numerous body of attendants, who had arms concealed under their garments to execute this This is the account given by Xerez and Zarate, and adopted by Herrera. But if it had been the plan of the Inca to destroy the Spaniards, one can hardly imagine that he would have permitted them to march unmolested through the desert of Motupe, or have neglected to defend the paffes in the mountains, where they might have been attacked with fo much advantage. If the Peruvians marched to Caxamalca with an intention to fall upon the Spaniards, it is inconceivable, that of fo great a body of men, prepared, for action, not one should attempt to make resistance, but all tamely suffer themselves to be butchered by an enemy whom they were armed to attack. Atahualpa's mode of advancing to the interview, has the aspect of a peaceable procession, not of a military enterprize. He himself, and his followers were, in their habits of ceremony, preceded, as on days of folemnity, by unarmed harbingers. Though rude nations are frequently cunning and false, yet, if a scheme of deception and treachery must be imputed either to a monarch, that had no great reason to be alarmed at a vifit from strangers who solicited admission into his presence as friends, or to an adventurer fo daring, and fo little fcrupulous as Pizarro, one cannot hesitate in determining where to fix the presumption of guilt. Even amidst the endeavours of the Spanish writers to palliate the proceedings of Pizarro, one plainly perceives, that it was his intention, as well as his interest, to feize the Inca, and that he had taken measures for that purpose, previous to any suspicion of that monarch's defigns.

GARCILASSO

GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA, extremely folicitous to vindicate his countrymen, the Peruvians, from the crime of having concerted the destruction of Pizarro and his followers, and no less afraid to charge the Spaniards with improper conduct towards the Inca, has framed another fystem. He relates, that a man of majestic form, with a long beard, and garments reaching to the ground, having appeared in vision to Viracocha, the eighth Inca, and declared, that he was a child of the Sun, that monarch built a temple in honour of this person, and erected an image of him, refembling as nearly as possible the fingular form in which he had exhibited himself to his view. In this temple, divine honours were paid to him, by the name of Viracocha. P. i. lib. iv. c. 21. lib. v. c. 22. When the Spaniards first appeared in Peru, the length of their beards, and the dress they wore, struck every person so much with their likeness to the image of Viracocha, that they supposed them to be children of the Sun, who had descended from heaven to earth. All concluded, that the fatal period of the Peruvian empire was now approaching, and that the throne would be occupied by new poffeffors. Atahualpa himfelf, confidering the Spaniards as meffengers from heaven, was fo far from entertaining any thoughts of refifting them, that he determined to yield implicit obedience to their commands. From those sentiments flowed his professions of love and respect. To those were owing the cordial reception of Soto and Ferdinand Pizarro in his camp, and the fubmissive reverence with which he advanced to visit the Spanish general in his quarters. But from the gross ignorance of Philipillo, the interpreter, the declaration of the Spaniards, and his answer to it, were so ill explained, that by their mutual inability to comprehend each other's intentions, the fatal rencounter at Caxamalca, with all its dreadful confequences, was occasioned.

It is remarkable, that no traces of this superstitious veneration of the Peruvians for the Spaniards, are to be found either in Xerez, or Sancho, or Zarate, previous to the interview at Caxamalca; and yet the two former served under Pizarro at that time, and the

latter visited Peru soon after the conquest. If either the Inca himself, or his messengers, had addressed the Spaniards in the words which La Vega put in their mouths, they must have been struck with such submissive declarations; and they would certainly have availed themselves of them to accomplish their own designs with greater facility. La Vega himfelf, though his narrative of the intercourse between the Inca and the Spaniards preceding the rencounter at Caxamalca, is founded on the fupposition of his believing them to be Viracochas, or divine beings. P. ii. lib. i. c. 17, &c. yet with his usual inattention and inaccuracy he admits, in another place, that the Peruvians did not recollect the refemblance between them and the god Viracocha, until the fatal difafters subsequent to the defeat at Caxamalca, and then only began to call them Viracochas. P. i. lib. v. c. 21. This is confirmed by Herrera, dec. v. lib. ii. c. 12. In many different parts of America, if we may believe the Spanish writers, their countrymen were considered as divine beings who had descended from Heaven. But in this instance, as in many which occur in the intercourse between nations, whose progress in refinement is very unequal the ideas of those who used the expression, were different from the ideas of those who heard it. For, such is the idiom of the Indian languages, or fuch is the fimplicity of those who speak them, that when they see any thing with which they were formerly unacquainted, and of which they do not know the origin; they fay, that it came down from heaven. Nugnez. Ram. iii. 327, C.

THE account which I have given of the sentiments and proceedings of the Peruvians, appears to be more natural and consistent than either of the two preceding, and is better supported by the facts related by the contemporary historians.

According to Xerez, p. 200, two thousand Peruvians were killed. Sancho makes the number of the slain fix or seven thousand. Ram. iii. 274, D. By La Vega's account, five thousand were massacred. P. ii. lib. i. c. 25. The number which I have mentioned, being

being the medium between the extremes, may probably be nearest the truth.

NOTE VIII. p. 32.

OTHING can be a more striking proof of this, than that three Spaniards travelled from Caxamalca to The distance between them is fix hundred miles. In every place throughout this vast extent of country, they were treated with all the honours which the Peruvians paid to their fovereigns, and even to their divinities. Under pretext of amassing what was wanting for the ranfom of the Inca, they demanded the plates of gold with which the walls of the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco were adorned; and though the priefts were unwilling to alienate those facred ornaments, and the people refused to violate the shrine of their God, the three Spaniards with their own hands robbed the Temple of that part of this valuable treasure; and such was the reverence of the natives for their persons, that though they beheld this act of facrilege with aftonishment, they did not attempt to prevent or disturb the commission of it. Zarate, lib. ii. c. 6. Sancho ap. Ramus. iii. 375, D.

NOTE IX. p. 42.

According to Herrera, the spoil of Cuzco, after setting apart the king's fifth, was divided among 480 persons. Each received 4000 persos. This amounts to 1,920,000 persos. Dec. v. lib. vi. c. 3. But as the general, and other officers, were entitled to a part far greater than that of the private men, the sum total must have risen much beyond what I have mentioned. Gomara, c. 123. and Zarate, lib. ii. c. 8. satisfy themselves with afferting in general, that the plunder of Cuzco was of greater value than the ransom of Atahualpa.

ii.

ng

NOTE X. p. 44.

O expedition in the New World was conducted with more persevering courage than that of Alvarado, and in none were greater hardships endured. Many of the persons engaged in it were, like their leader, veterans who had ferved under Cortes, inured to all the rigour of American war. Such of my readers as have not an opportunity of perufing the ftriking description of their fufferings by Zarate or Herrera, may form some idea of the nature of their march from the fea-coast to Quito, by confulting the account which D. Ant. Ulloa gives of his own journey in 1736, nearly in the same route. Voy. tom, i. p. 178, &c. or that of M. Bouguer, who proceeded from Puerto Viejo to Quito, by the fame road which Alvarado took. He compares his own journey with that of the Spanish leader, and by the comparison, gives a most striking idea of the boldness and patience of Alvarado, in forcing his way through fo many obstacles. Vovage du Perou, p. xxviii, &c.

NOTE XI. p. 45.

ACCORDING to Herrera, there was entered on account of the king, in gold, 155,300 pefos, and 5400 marks (each 8 ounces) of filver, befides feveral veffels and ornaments, some of gold, and others of filver; on account of private persons, in gold 499,000 pesos, and 54,000 marks of filver. Dec. v. lib. vi. c. 13.

NOTE XII. p. 52.

THE Peruvians had recourse to other military arts than those of the Spaniards. As the cavalry were the chief object of their terror, they endeavoured to render them incapable of acting, by throwing a long thong with a stone fastened to each end. This twisted about the horse and its rider, entangled them so as to render them incapable

capable of acting. Herrera mentions this as an invention of their own. Dec. v. lib. viii. c. 4. But as I have observed, vol. ii. p. 129, this weapon is common among several barbarous tribes towards the extremity of South America; and it is more probable, that the Peruvians had observed the dexterity with which they used it in hunting, and on this occasion adopted it themselves. The Spaniards were considerably annoyed by it. Herrera, ibid. Another instance of the ingenuity of the Peruvians deserves mention. By turning a river out of its channel, they overslowed a valley, in which a body of Spaniards was posted, so suddenly, that it was with the utmost difficulty they made their escape. Herrera, dec. v. lib. viii. c. 5.

NOTE XIII. p. 69.

HERRERA's account of Orellana's voyage is the most minute, and apparently the most accurate. It was probably taken from the journal of Orellana himself. But the dates are not diffinctly marked. His navigation down the Coca, or Napo, begun early in February 1541; and he arrived at the mouth of the river on the 26th of August, having spent near seven months in the voyage. M. de la Condamine, in the year 1743, failed from Cuenca to Para, a fettlement of the Portuguese at the mouth of the river, a navigation much longer than that of Orellana, in less than four months. Voyage, p. 179. But the two adventurers were very differently provided for the voyage. This hazardous undertaking, to which ambition prompted Orellana, and to which the love of science led M. de la Condamine, was undertaken in the year 1769, by Madame Godin des Odonais, from conjugal affection. The narrative and hardships which she fuffered, of the dangers to which she was exposed, and of the difasters which befel her, is one of the most fingular and affecting stories in any language, exhibiting in her conduct a striking picture of the fortitude which diffinguish the one fex, mingled with the fensibility and tenderness peculiar to the other. Lettre de M. Godin, a M. de la Condamine.

NOTE XIV. p. 72.

HERRERA gives a striking picture of their indigence. Twelve gentlemen, who had been officers of diffinction under Almagro, lodged in the same house, and having but one cloak among them, it was worn alternately by him who had occasion to appear in public, while the rest, from the want of a decent dress, were obliged to keep within doors. Their former friends and companions were fo much afraid to give offence to Pizarro, that they durft not entertain, or even converse with them. One may conceive what was the condition. and what the indignation of men once accustomed to power and opulence, when they felt themselves poor and despised, without a roof under which to shelter their heads, while they beheld others, whose merit and fervices were not equal to theirs, living with fplendor in fumptuous edifices. Dec. vi. lib. viii. c. 6.

NOTE XV. p. 83.

HERRERA, the most accurate of the Spanish historians, afferts, that Gonzalo Pizarro possessed domains in the neighbourhood of Chuquesaca de la Plata, which yielded him an annual revenue greater than that of the archbishop of Toledo, the best endowed see in Europe. Dec. vii. lib. vi. c. 3.

NOTE XVI. p. 95.

ALL the Spanish writers describe his march, and the distresses of both parties very minutely. Zarate observes, that hardly any parallel to it occurs in history, either with respect to the length of the retreat, or the ardour of the pursuit. Pizarro, according to his computation, followed the viceroy upwards of three thousand miles. Lib. v. c. 16. 26.

NOTE XVII. p. 108.

IT amounted, according to Fernandez, the best informed historian of that period, to one million four hundred thousand pesos. Lib. ii. c. 79.

NOTE XVIII. p. 109.

CARVAJAL, from the beginning, had been an advocate for an accommodation with Gasca. Finding Pizarro incapable of holding that bold course which he originally suggested, he recommended to him a timely submission to his sovereign as the safest measure. When the president's offers were first communicated to Pizarro, "By our Lady (said he, in that strain of bussionery which was familiar to him) the priest issues gracious bulls. He gives them both good and cheap, let us only accept of them, but wear them as reliques about our necks." Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 63.

NOTE XIX. p. 114.

DURING the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, seven hundred men were killed in battle, and three hundred and eighty were hanged or beheaded. Herrera, dec. viii. lib. iv. c. 4. Above three hundred of these were cut off by Carvajal. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 91. Zarate makes the number of those put to a violent death five hundred. Lib. vii. c. 1.

NOTE XX. p. 121.

IN my inquiries concerning the manners and policy of the Mexicans, I have received much information from a large manuscript of Don Alonso de Corita, one of the judges in the Court of Audience of Mexico. In the year 1553, Philip II. in order that he might discover the mode of levving tribute from his Indian subjects, that would be most beneficial to the crown, and least oppresfive to them, addressed a mandate to all the Courts of Audience in America, enjoining them to answer certain queries which he proposed to them, concerning the ancient form of government established among the various nations of Indians, and the mode in which they paid taxes to their kings or chiefs. In obedience to this mandate, Corita, who had refided nineteen years in America, fourteen of which he passed in New Spain, composed the work of which I have a copy. He acquaints his fovereign, that he had made it an object during his refidence in America, and in all its provinces which he had vifited, to inquire diligently into the manners and customs of the natives, that he had conversed for this purpose with many aged and intelligent Indians. and confulted feveral of the Spanish ecclesiastics, who understood the Indian languages most perfectly, particularly fome of those who landed in New Spain foon after the conquest. Corita appears to be a man of some learning, and to have carried on his inquiries with the diligence and accuracy to which he pretends. Greater credit is due to his testimony from one circumstance. His work was not composed with a view to publication, or in fupport of any particular theory, but contains fimple, though full answers to queries proposed to him officially. Though Herrera does not mention him among the authors whom he had followed as guides in his hiftory, I should suppose, from several facts of which he takes notice, as well as from feveral expressions which he uses, that this memorial of Corita was not unknown to him.

NOTE XXI. p. 130.

THE early Spanish writers were so hasty and inaccurate in estimating the numbers of people in the provinces and towns of America, that it is impossible to ascertain that of Mexico itself with any degree of precision. Cortes describes the extent and populousness of Mexico in general terms, which imply, that it was not inferior inferior to the greatest cities in Europe. Gomara is more explicit, and affirms, that there were 60,000 houses, or families in Mexico. Cron. c. 78. Herrera adopts his opinion. Dec. ii. lib. vii. c. 13; and the generality of writers follow them implicitly without inquiry or scruple. According to this account, the inhabitants of Mexico must have been about 300,000. Torquemada, with his usual propensity to the marvellous, afferts, that there were a hundred and twenty thousand houses or families in Mexico, and consequently about fix hundred thousand inhabitants. Lib. iii. c. 23. But in a very judicious account of the Mexican empire, by one of Cortes's officers, the population is fixed at 60,000 people. Ramusio, iii. 309, A. Even by this account, which probably is much nearer the truth than any of the foregoing, Mexico was a great city.

NOTE XXII. p. 133.

IT is to P. Torribio de Benevente, that I am indebted for this curious observation. Palafox, bishop of Los Angeles, confirms and illustrates it more fully. The Mexican (fays he) is the only language in which a termination indicating respect, filavas reverentiales y de cortelia, may be affixed to every word. By adding the final fyllable zin or azin to any word, it becomes a proper expression of veneration in the mouth of an inferior. If, in speaking to an equal, the word Father is to be used, it is Tatl, but an inferior says Tatzin. One priest speaking to another, calls him Teopixque; a person of inferior rank calls him Teopixcatzin. The name of the emperor who reigned when Cortes invaded Mexico. was Montezuma, but his vaffals, from reverence, pronounced it Montezumazin. Torribio, MS. Palaf. Virtudes del Indio, p. 65. The Mexicans had not only reverential nouns, but reverential verbs. The manner in which these are formed from the verbs in common use, is explained by D. Jos. Aug. Aldama y Guevara in his Mexican Grammar, No. 188.

Vol. III.

X

NOTE

NOTE XXIII. p. 137.

PROM comparing feveral paffages in Corita and Herrera, we may collect with fome degree of accuracy, the various modes in which the Mexicans contributed towards the fupport of government. Some persons of the first order seem to have been exempted from the payment of any tribute, and, as their only duty to the public, were bound to perfonal fervices in war, and to follow the banner of the fovereign with their vaffals. 2. The immediate vaffals of the crown were bound not only to perfonal military fervice, but paid a certain proportion of the produce of their lands in kind. 3. Those who held offices of honour or trust, paid a certain share of what they received in confequence of holding thefe. 4. Each Capullee, or affociation, cultivated fome part of the common field allotted to it, for the behoof of the crown, and deposited the produce in the royal gra-5. Some part of whatever was brought to the naries. public markets, whether fruits of the earth, or the various productions of their artists and manufactures, was demanded for the public use, and the merchants who paid this were exempted from every other tax. 6. The Mayeques or adscripti gleba, were bound to cultivate certain districts in every province, which may be confidered as crown lands, and brought the increase into public storehouses. Thus the sovereign received some part of whatever was useful or valuable in the country, whether it was the natural production of the foil, or acquired by the industry of the people. What each contributed towards the support of government, seems to have been inconsiderable. Corita, in answer to one of the queries put to the Audience of Mexico, by Philip II. endeavours to estimate in money the value of what each citizen might be supposed to pay, and does not reckon it at more than three or four reals, about eighteen pence or two shillings a head.

NOTE XXIV. p. 138.

CORTES, who feems to have been as much aftonished with this, as with any instance of Mexican ingenuity, gives a particular description of it. Along one of the causeways,

canseways, says he, by which they enter the city, are conducted two conduits, composed of clay tempered with mortar, about two paces in breadth, and raised about six feet. In one of them is conveyed a stream of excellent water, as large as the body of a man, into the centre of the city, and it supplies all the inhabitants plentifully. The other is empty, that when it is necessary to clean, or repair the former, the stream of water may be turned into it. As this conduit passes along two of the bridges, where there are breaches in the causeway, through which the salt-water of the lake flows, it is conveyed over them in pipes as large as the body of an ox, then carried from the conduit to the remote quarters of the city in canoes, and sold to the inhabitants. Relat. ap. Ramus. 241, A.

NOTE XXV. p. 140.

IN the armoury of the royal palace of Madrid, are shewn fuits of armour, which are called Montezuma's. They are composed of thin lacquered copper-plates. In the opinion of very intelligent judges they are evidently eastern. The forms of the filver ornaments upon them, reprefenting dragons, &c. may be confidered as a confirmation of this. They are infinitely fuperior in point of workmanship to any effort of American art. The Spaniards probably received them from the Philippine islands. The only unquestionable specimen of Mexican art that I know of in Great Britain, is a cup of very fine gold, which is faid to have belonged to Montezuma. It weighs 5 oz. 12 pwt. Three drawings of it were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, June 10, 1765. A man's head is represented on this cup. On one fide the full face, on the other the profile, on the third the back parts of the head. The relievo is faid to have been produced by punching the infide of the cup, so as to make the reprefentation of a face on the outside. The features are rude, but very tolerable, and certainly too rude for Spanish workmanship. This cup was purchased by Edward earl of Orford, while he lay in the harbour of Cadiz with the fleet under his command, and is now in the poffeffion of his grandfon, Lord Archer. I am indebted for

this information to my respectable and ingenious friend Mr. Barrington.

NOTE XXVI. p. 144-

THE learned reader will perceive how much I have been indebted in this part of my work, to the guidance of the bishop of Gloucester, who has traced the successive steps, by which the human mind advanced in this line of its progress, with much erudition, and greater ingenuity. He is the first, as far as I know, who formed a rational and consistent theory concerning the various modes of writing practised by nations, according to the various degrees of their improvement. Div. Legation of Moses, iii. 69, &c. Some important observations have been added by the learned and intelligent author of the Traite de la Formation Mechanique des Langues, tom. i. 295, &c.

As the Mexican paintings are the most curious monuments extant of the earliest mode of writing, it will not be improper to give fome account of the means by which they were preferved from the general wreck of every work of art in America, and communicated to the Public. For the most early and complete collection of these published by Purchas, we are indebted to the attention of that curious enquirer, Hakluyt. Don Antonio Mendoza, viceroy of New Spain, having deemed those paintings a proper present for Charles V. the ship in which they were fent to Spain, was taken by a French cruizer, and they came into the possession of Thevet, the king's geographer, who having travelled himself into the New World, and described one of its provinces, was a curious observer of whatever tended to illustrate the manners of the Americans. On his death, they were purchased by Hakluyt, at that time chaplain of the English ambaffador to the French court; and, being left by him to Purchas, were published at the defire of the learned antiquary, Sir Henry Spelman. Purchas, iii. 1065.

THE fecond specimen of Mexican picture-writing, was published by Dr. Francis Gemelli Carreri, in two copper-plates. The first is a map, or representation of the

the progress of the ancient Mexicans on their first arrival in the country, and of the various stations in which they settled, before they founded the capital of their empire in the lake of Mexico. The second, is a Chronological Wheel, or Circle, representing the manner in which they computed and marked their cycle of fiftytwo years. The former was given to him by Dr. Chriftoval de Guadalajora, in the city of Los Angeles; the latter he received from Don Carlos de Siguenza y Gongorra. But as it feems now to be a received opinion (founded I know not on what evidence) that Carreri was never out of Italy, and that his famous Giro del Mundo, is an account of a fictitious voyage, I have not mentioned these paintings in the text. They have, however, manifestly the appearance of being Mexican productions, and are allowed to be so by Boturini, who was well qualified to determine whether they were genuine or fuppositious. The style of painting in the former is considerably more perfect, than any other specimen of Mexican defign; but as the original is faid to have been much defaced by time, I fuspect that it has been improved by fome touches from the hand of an European artift. Carreri, Churchil, iv. p. 487. The chronological wheel is a just delineation of the Mexican mode of computing time, as described by Acosta, lib. vi. c. 2. It feems to refemble one which that learned Jesuit had feen; and if it be admitted as a genuine monument, it proves, that the Mexicans had artificial, or arbitrary characters, which represented several things besides numbers. Each month is there represented by a symbol expressive of some work or rite peculiar to it.

THE third specimen of Mexican painting was discovered by another Italian. In 1736, Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci set out for New Spain, and was led by several incidents to study the language of the Mexicans, and to collect the remains of their historical monuments. He persisted nine years in his reseaches, with the enthusiasm of a projector, and the patience of an antiquary. In 1746, he published at Madrid, Idea de una Nueva Historia General de la America Septentrional, containing an account of the result of his inquiries; and he added to it a catalogue of his American Historical Museum,

feum, arranged under thirty-fix different heads. His idea of a New History appears to me the work of a whimfical credulous man. But his catalogue of Mexican maps, paintings, tribute-rolls, calendars. &c. is amazing. Unfortunately a ship, in which he had sent a confiderable part of them to Europe, was taken by an English privateer in the war before last; and it is probable that they perished by falling into the hands of ignorant captors. Boturini himself incurred the displeafure of the Spanish court, and died in an hospital at Madrid. The history, of which the Idea, &c. was only a prospectus, was never published. The remainder of his Museum seems to have been dispersed. Some part of it came into the possession of the present archbishop of Toledo, when he was primate of New Spain, and he published from it that curious tribute-roll which I have mentioned.

THE only other collection of Mexican paintings, as far as I can learn, is in the Imperial Library at Vienna, By order of their Imperial Majesties, I have obtained fuch a specimen of these as I desired, in eight paintings, made with fuch fidelity, that I am informed the copies could hardly be diftinguished from the originals. According to a note in this Codex Mexicanus, it appears to have been a prefent from Emmanuel King of Portugal to Pope Clement VII. who died A. D. 1533. After passing through the hands of several illustrious proprietors, it fell into those of the cardinal of Saxe-Eisenach, who presented it to the emperor Leopold. These paintings are manifestly Mexican, but they are in a style very different from any of the former. An engraving has been made of one of them, in order to gratify fuch of my readers, as may deem this an object worthy of their attention. Were it an object of fufficient importance, it might be possible, with some attention, by recourse to the plates of Purchas, and the archbishop of Toledo, as a key, to form plaufible conjectures concerning the meaning of this picture. Many of the figures are manifestly similar. A. A. are targets and darts, almost in the same form with those published by Purchas, p. 1070, 1071, &c. B. B. are figures of temples, nearly refembling those which occur in Purchas, p. 1109 and 1113, and in Lorenzana, Plate II. C. is a bale

bale of mantles, or cotton cloths, the figure of which occurs in almost every plate of Purchas and Lorenzana. E. E. E. seem to be Mexican captains in their war dress, the fantastic ornaments of which resemble the figures in Purchas, p. 1110, 1111. 1113. I should suppose this picture to be a tribute-roll, as their mode of noting numbers occurs frequently. D. D. D. &c. According to Boturini, the mode of computation by the number of knots, was known to the Mexicans as well as to the Peruvians, p. 85, and the manner in which the number of units is represented in the Mexican paintings in my possession, seems to confirm this opinion. They plainly resemble a string of knots on a cord or rope.

NOTE XXVII. p. 145.

THE first was called, the Prince of the deathful Lance; the second, the Divider of Men; the third, the Shedder of Blood; the fourth, the Lord of the Dark-House. Acosta, Lib. VI. c. 25.

NOTE XXVIII. p. 151.

THE Temple of Cholula, which was deemed more holy than any in New Spain, was likewise the most considerable. But it was nothing more than a mount of solid earth. According to Torquemada, it was above a quarter of a league in circuit at the base, and rose to the height of forty fathom. Mon. Ind. Lib. iii. c. 19.

FROM inspecting various figures of Temples, which occur in the paintings engraved by Purchas, there seems to be some reason for suspecting that all their temples were constructed in the same manner. See vol. iii. p. 1109, 1110. 1113.

NOTE XXIX. p. 152.

NOT only in Tlascala, and Tepeaca, but even in Mexico itself the houses of the people were mere huts built with turf, or mud, or the branches of trees. They were extremely low, and slight, and without any furniture but a few earthen vessels. Like the rudest Indians, several

feveral families resided under the same roof, without having any separate apartments. Herrera, Dec. ii. lib. vli. c. 13. lib. x. c. 22. Dec. iv. lib. iv. c. 17. Torquem. lib, iii. c. 23.

NOTE XXX. p. 152.

AM informed by a person who resided long in New Spain, and visited almost every province of it, that there is not in all the extent of that vast empire, any monument, or veftige of any building more ancient than the conquest, nor of any bridge, or highway, except some remains of the causey from Gaudaloupe to the gate of Mexico by which Cortes entered the city. MS. penes me. The author of another account in manuscript observes, "That at this Day there does not remain even the smallest vestige of the existence of any ancient Indian building, public or private, either in Mexico or in any province of New Spain. I have travelled, fays he, through all the countries adjacent to them, viz. New Galicia, New Bifcay, New Mexico, Sonora, Cinaloa, the New Kingdom of Leon, and New Santandero, without having observed any monument worth notice, except the ruins near an ancient village in the valley de Cafas Grandes, in lat. N. 300. 46, longit. 2580. 24'. from the Island of Teneriffe, or 460 leagues N. N. W. from Mexico. He defcribes this minutely, and it appears to have been a paltry building of turf and stone, plaistered over with white earth or lime. A missionary informed that gentleman, that he had discovered the ruins of another settlement fimilar to the former, about a hundred leagues towards N. W. on the banks of St. Pedro. MS. penes me.

Those testimonies derive great credit from one circumstance, that they were not given in support of any particular system or theory, but as simple answers to queries which I had proposed. It is probable, however, that when these gentlemen affert no ruins or monuments of any ancient work whatever are now to be discovered in the Mexican Empire, they meant that there were no such ruins or monuments, as conveyed any idea of grandeur

deur or magnificence, in the works of its ancient inhabitants. For it appears from the testimony of several Spanish authors, that in Otumba, Tlascala, Cholula, &c. fome veftiges of ancient buildings are still visible. Villa Segnor Theatro Amer. p. 143. 308. 353. D. Fran. Ant. Lorenzana, formerly archbishop of Mexico. and now of Toledo, in his introduction to that edition of the Cartas de Relacion of Cortes, which he published at Mexico, mentions fome ruins which are still visible in feveral of the towns, through which Cortes paffed in his way to the capital, p. 4. &c. But neither of these authors give any description of them, and they seem to be fo very inconfiderable, as to flew only that fome buildings had once been there. The large mount of earth at Cholula, which the Spainiards dignified with the name of temple, still remains, but without any steps by which to afcend, or any facing of stone. It appears now like a natural mount, covered with grass and shrubs, and possibly it was never any thing more. Torquem. lib. iii. c. 19. I have received a minute description of the remains of a temple near Cuernavaca, on the road from Mexico to Acapulco. It is composed of large stones, fitted to each other as nicely as those in the buildings of the Peruvians, which are hereafter mentioned. At the foundation it forms a square of 25 yards; but as it rises in height, it diminishes in extent, not gradually, but by being contracted fuddenly at regular distances, so that it must have resembled the figure B, in the Plate. It terminated, it is faid, in a spire,

NOTE XXXI. p. 157.

THE exaggeration of the Spanish Historians, with respect to the number of human victims sacrificed in Mexico, appears to be very great. According to Gomara, there was no year in which twenty thousand human victims were not offered to the Mexican Divinities, and in some years they amounted to fifty thousand. Cron. c. 229. The skulls of those unhappy persons were ranged in order in a building erected for that purpose, and two of Cortes's officers who had counted them, informed Gomara that their number was a hundred

dred and thirty fix thousand. Ibid. c. 82. Herrera's account is still more incredible, that the number of victims was fo great, that five thousand have been facrificed in one day, nay on fome occasions, no less than twenty thousand. Dec. iii. lib. ii. c. 16. Torquemado goes beyond both in extravagance for he afferts that twenty thousand children, exclusive of other victims, were flaughtered annually. Mon. Ind. lib. vii. c. 21. most respectable authority in favour of such high numbers is that of Zumurraga, the first bishop of Mexico, who, in a letter to the chapter general of his order, A. D. 1631, afferts that the Mexicans facrificed annually twenty thousand victims. Davila. Teatro Eccles. 126. In opposition to all these accounts, B. de las Casas obferves that if there had been fuch an annual waste of the human species, the country could never have arrived at that degree of populoufness, for which it was remarkable when the Spaniards first landed there; and he positively afferts, that the Mexicans never facrificed more than fifty or a hundred persons in a year. See his dispute with Sepulveda, subjoined to his Brevissima Relacion, p. 105. Cortes does not specify what number of victims was facrificed annually, but B. Diaz del Caftillo relates that an inquiry having been made, with refpect to this, by the Franciscan Monks, who were sent into New Spain immediately after the conquest, it was found that about two thousand five hundred were facrificed every year in Mexico. c. 207.

NOTE XXXII. p. 158.

T is hardly necessary to observe, that the Peruvian Chronology is not only obscure, but repugnant to conclusions deduced from the most accurate, and extensive observations, concerning the time that elapses during each reign, in any given succession of princes. The medium has been found not to exceed twenty years. According to Acosta and Garcilasso de la Vega, Huana Capac, who died about the year 1527, was the twelfth Inca. The duration of the Peruvian monarchy ought not to have been reckoned above two hundred and forty years; but they affirm that it had subsisted four hundred years. Acosta, lib. vi. c. 19. Vega, lib. i. c. 9. By this account, each reign is extended at a medium to thirty

thirty three years, instead of twenty, the number afcertained by Sir Isaac Newton's observations; but so imperfect were the Peruvian traditions, that though the total is boldly marked, the number of years in each reign is unknown.

NOTE XXXIII. p. 164.

MANY of the early Spanish writers affert, that the Peruvians offered human facrifices. Xerez. p. 190. Zarate, lib. 1. c. 11. Acosta, lib. v. c. 19. But Garcilasso de la Vega contends, that though this barbarous practice prevailed among their uncivilized ancestors, it was totally abolished by the Incas, and that no human victim was ever offered in any temple of the Sun. This affertion, and the plaufible reasons with which he confirms it, are fufficient to refute the Spanish writers, whose accounts feem to be founded entirely upon report, not upon what they themselves had observed. Vega, lib. ii. c. 4. In one of their festivals, the Peruvians offered cakes of bread, moistened with blood drawn from the arms, the eye-brows, and nofes of their children. Id. lib. vii. c. 6. This rite feems to have been derived from their ancient practice.

NOTE XXXIV. p. 169.

THE Spaniards have adopted both those customs of the antient Peruvians. They have preserved some of the aqueducts or canals, made in the days of the Incas, and have made new ones, by which they water every sield that they cultivate. Ulloa Voyage, tom. i. 422, 477. They likewise continue to use guano, or the dung of sea-fowls as manure. Ulloa gives a description of the almost incredible quantity of it in the small islands near the coast. Ibid. 481.

NOTE XXXV. p. 171.

THE temple of Cayambo, the palace of the Inca at Callo in the plain of Lacatunga, and that of Atun-Cannar, are described by Ulloa, tom. i. 286, &c. who inspected them with great care. M. de Condamine published a curious memoir concerning the ruin; of Atun-Cannar. Mem. de l'Academie de Berlin, A. D. 1746,

p. 435. Acosta describes the ruins of Cuzco, which he had examined. Lib. vi. c. 14. Garcilasso in his usual stile, gives pompous and confused descriptions of feveral temples, and other public edifices. Lib. iii. c. i. 21. lib. vi. c. 4. Don — Zapata, in a large treatife concerning Peru, which has not hitherto been published, communicates fome information with respect to several monuments of the ancient Peruvians, which have not been mentioned by other authors. MS. penes me, Articulo xx. Ulloa describes some of the antient Peruvian fortifications, which were likewise works of great extent and folidity. Tom. i. 301. Three circumstances ftruck all those observers: the vast size of the stones which the Peruvians employed in some of their buildings. Acosta measured one, which was thirty feet long, eighteen broad, and fix in thickness; and yet, he adds, that in the fortress at Cuzco, there where stones considerably larger. It is difficult to conceive how the Peruvians could move these, and raise them to the height even of twelve feet. The fecond circumstance is, the imperfection of the Peruvian art, when applied to working in timber. By the patience and perfeverance natural to Americans, stones may be formed into any shape, merely by rubbing one against another, or by the use of hatchets or other inftruments made of stone; but with fuch rude tools, little progress can be made in carpentry. The Peruvians could not mortize two beams together, or give any degree of union, or stability to any work composed of timber. As they could not form a centre, they were totally unacquainted with the use of arches in building, nor can the Spanish authors conceive how they were able to frame a roof for those ample structures which they raised.

THE third circumstance is a striking proof, which all the monuments of the Peruvians surnish, of their want of ingenuity and invention, accompanied with patience no less astonishing. None of the stones employed in those works were formed into any particular or uniform shape, that might render them sit for building. The Indians took them as they fell from the mountains, or were raised out of the quar-

ries

Some were fquare, fome triangular, fome convex, fome concave. Their art and industry were employed in joining them together, by forming fuch hollows in the one, as perfectly corresponded to the projections or rifings in the other. This tedious operation which might have been fo eafily abridged, by adapting the furface of the stones to each other, either by rubbing, or by their hatchets of copper, would be deemed incredible, if it were not put beyond doubt by inspecting the remains of those buildings. It gives them a very fingular appearance to an European eye. There is no regular layer or ftratum of building, and no one stone resembles another in dimensions or form. At the same time, by the persevering, but ill-directed industry of the Indians, all are joined with that minute nicety which I have mentioned. Ulloa made this observation concerning the form of the stones in the fortress of Atun-Canar. Voy. i. p. 387. Pineto gives a fimilar description of the fortress of Cuzco the most perfect of all the Peruvian works. Zapata MS. penes me. According to M. de Condamine there were regular strata of building in some parts of Atun-Canar, which he remarks as fingular, and proof of fome progress in improvement.

NOTE XXXVI. p. 174.

THE appearance of those bridges, which bend with their own weight, wave with the wind, and are considerably agitated by the motion of every person who passes along them, is very frightful at first. But the Spaniards have found them to be the easiest mode of passing the torrents of Peru, over which it would be difficult to throw more solid structures either of stone or timber. They form those hanging bridges so strong and broad that loaded mules pass along them. All the trade of Cuzco is carried on by means of such a bridge over the river Apurimac. Ulloa, tom. i. 358. A more simple contrivance was employed in passing smaller streams: a basket, in which the traveller was placed, being suffined from a strong rope stretched across the stream, it was pushed or drawn from one side to the other. Ibid.

NOTE XXXVII. p. 183.

My information with respect to those events is taken from Noticia breve de la expedicion militar de Sonora y Cinaloa, su exito feliz, y vantojoso estado, en que por consecuencia de ello, se han puesto ambas provincias, published at Mexico, June 17th, 1771, in order to satisfy the curiosity of the merchants, who had furnished the viceroy with money for defraying the expence of the armament. The copies of this Noticia are very rare in Madrid; but I have obtained one which has enabled me to communicate these curious facts to the Public. According to this account, there was found in the mine Yecorato in Cinaloa, a grain of gold of twenty-two carats, which weighed sixteen marks four ounces four ochavas; this was sent to Spain as a present sit for the king, and is now deposited in the royal cabinet at Madrid.

NOTE XXXVIII. p. 183.

THE uncertainty of geographers with respect to this point is remarkable, for Cortes seems to have surveyed its coasts with great accuracy. The archbishop of Toledo has published, from the original, in the possession of the Marquis del Valle, the descendant of Cortes, a map drawn in 1541, by the pilot Domingo Castillo, in which California is laid down as a peninfula, stretching out nearly in the same direction which is now given to it in the best maps, and the point where Rio Colorado enters the gulf is marked with precision. Hist. de Nueva Espagna, 327.

NOTE XXXIX. p. 186.

I Am indebted for this fact to M. L'Abbé Raynal, tom. iii. 103, and upon confulting an intelligent person, who having been long settled on the Mosquito shore, has been engaged in the logwood trade, I find that ingenious

genious author has been well informed. The logwood cut near the town of St. Francis of Campeachy, is of much better quality than that on the other fide of Yucatan, and the English trade in the Bay of Honduras is almostat an end.

NOTE XL. p. 202.

P. Torribio de Benevente, or Motolinea, has enumerated ten causes of the rapid depopulation of Mexico, to which he gives the name of the ten plagues. Many of these are not peculiar to that province. 1. The introduction of the small-pox. This disease was first brought into New Spain in the year 1520, by a negroe flave, who attended Narvaez. Torribio affirms, that one half of the people, in the provinces vifited with this diftemper, died. To this mortality occasioned by the fmall-pox, Torquemada adds the destructive effects of two contagious distempers which raged in the years 1545 and 1576. In the former 800,000; in the latter. above two millions perifhed, according to an exact account taken by order of the viceroys. Mon. Ind. i. 642. The small-pox were not introduced into Peru for feveral years after the invafion of the Spaniards, but proved very fatal to the natives. Garcia Origen, p. 88. 2. The numbers who were killed, or died of famine in their war with the Spaniards, particularly during the fiege of Mexico. 3. The great famine that followed after the reduction of Mexico, as all the people engaged, either on one fide or other, had neglected the cultivation of their lands. Something fimilar to this happened in all the other countries conquered by the Spaniards. 4. The grievous tasks imposed by the Spaniards upon the people belonging to their Repartimientos. 5. The oppressive burden of taxes which they were unable to pay, and from which they could hope for no exemption. 6. The numbers employed in collecting the gold, carried down by the torrents from the mountains, who were forced from their own habitations, without any provifion made for their fubfiftence, and fubjected to all the rigour of cold in those elevated regions. 7. The immense labour of rebuilding Mexico, which Cortes urged

on with fuch precipitate ardour, as deftroyed an incredible number of people. 8. The number of people condemned to fervitude, under various pretexts, and employed in working the filver mines. Thefe, marked by each proprietor with a hot iron, like his cattle, were driven in herds to the mountains. The nature of the labour to which they were fubjected there, the noxious vapours of the mines, the coldness of the climate, and fearcity of food were fo fatal, that Torribio affirms, the country round feveral of those mines, particularly near Guaxago, was covered with dead bodies, the air corrupted with their stench, and so many vultures, and other voracious birds, hovered about for their prey, that the fun was darkened with their flight. 10. The Spaniards, in the different expeditions which they undertook, and by the civil wars which they carried on, deftroyed many of the natives, whom they compelled to ferve them as Tamemes, or carriers of burdens. This last mode of oppression was particularly ruinous to the Peruvians. From the number of Indians who perished in Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition into the countries to the east of the Andes, one may form some idea of what they fuffered, and how fast they wasted. Torribio, MS. Corita in his Breve y Summaria Relacion, illustrates and confirms feveral of Torribio's observations, to which he refers. MS. penes me.

NOTE XLI. p. 202.

EVEN Montesquieu has adopted this idea, lib. viii. c. 18. But the passion of that great man for system, sometimes rendered him inattentive to research; and from his capacity to refine, he was apt in some instances, to overlook obvious and just causes.

NOTE XLII. p. 203.

A Strong proof of this occurs in the testament of Isabella, where she discovers the most tender concern for the humane and mild usage of the Indians. Those laudable sentiments of the queen have been adopted into

the public law of Spain, and serve as the introduction to the regulations contained under the title of the good treatment of the Indians. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. x.

NOTE XLIII. p. 205.

In the feventh Title of the first book of the Recopilacion, which contains the laws concerning the powers and functions of archbishops and bishops, almost a third part of them relates to what is incumbent upon them, as guardians of the Indians, and points out the various methods in which it is their duty to interpose, in order to defend them from oppression, either with respect to their person or property. Not only do the laws commit to them this honourable and humane office, but they actually exercise it.

INNUMERABLE proofs of this might be produced from Spanish authors. But I rather refer to Gage, as he was not disposed to ascribe any merit to the popish clergy, to which they were not fully entitled. Survey, p. 142. 192, &c. Henry Hawks, an English merchant, who refided five years in New Spain, previous to the year 1572, gives the fame favourable account of the po-Hakluyt, iii. 466. By a law of Charles V. pish clergy. not only bishops, but other ecclesiastics, are empowered to inform and admonish the civil magistrates, if any Indian is deprived of his just liberty and rights. Recopilac. lib. vi. tit. vi. ley. 14; and thus were conftituted legal protectors of the Indians. Some of the Spanish ecclefiaftics refused to grant absolution to such of their countrymen as possessed Encomiendas, and considered the Indians as flaves, or employed them in working their mines. Gonz. Davil. Fiatro. Ecclef. i. 157.

NOTE XLIV. p. 205.

ACCORDING to Gage, Chiapa dos Indos contains 4000 families, and he mentions it only as one of the largest Indian towns in America. P. 104.

NOTE XLV. p. 205.

IT is very difficult to obtain an accurate account of the ftate of population in those kingdoms of Europe where the police is most perfect, and where science has made the greatest progress. In Spanish America, where knowledge is still in its infancy, and few men have leifure to engage in refearches merely speculative, little attention has been paid to this curious inquiry. But in the year 1741, Philip V. enjoined the viceroys and governors of the feveral provinces in America, to make an actual furvey of the people under their jurisdiction, and to transmit a report concerning their number and occupations. In confequence of this order, the Conde de Fuen-Clara, viceroy of New Spain, appointed D. Jos. Antonio de Villa-Segnor y Sanchez, to execute that commission in New Spain. From the reports of the magistrates in the feveral districts, as well as from his own observations, and long acquaintance with most of the provinces, Villa-Segnor published the refult of his inquiries in his Theatro Americano. His report, however, is imperfect. Of the nine dioceses, into which the Mexican empire has been divided, he has published an account only of five, viz. the archbishopric of Mexico, the bishoprics of Los Angeles, Mechoacan, Oaxaca, and Nova Galicia. The bishoprics of Yucutan, Verapaz, Chiapa, and Guatimala, are entirely omitted, though the two latter comprehend countries, in which the Indian race is more numerous than in any part of New Spain. In his furvey of the extensive diocese of Nova Galicia, the situation of the different Indian villages is described, but he specifies the number of people only in a small part of it. The Indians of that vast province, in which the Spanish dominion

dominion is imperfectly established, are not registered with the same accuracy as in other parts of New Spain. According to Villa Segnor, the actual state of population in the five dioceses above mentioned is of Spaniards, negroes, mulattoes, and mestizos, in the dioceses of

Mexico - Los Angeles Mechoacan Oaxaca - Nova Galicia			Families. 105,202 30,600 30,840 7,296 16,770
	n January 1 January		190,708
At the rate of five to number is	a family,	the total	953,540
Indian families in	the dioc	ese of	
Mexico Los Angeles Mechoacan Oaxaca Nova Galicia			88,240 36,196 44,222 6,222
		Inum we 2	294,391

At the rate of five to a family, the total number is 1,471,955. We may rely with greater certainty on this computation of the number of Indians, as it is taken from the *Matricula*, or register, according to which the tribute paid by them is collected. As four dioceses of nine are totally omitted, and in that of Nova Galicia, the numbers are imperfectly recorded, we may conclude, that the number of Indians in the Mexican empire exceeds two millions.

THE account of the number of Spaniards, &c. feems not to be equally complete. Of many places, Villa Segnor observes in general terms, that several Spaniards, negroes, and people of a mixed race, reside there, Y 2 without

without specifying their number. If, therefore, we make allowance for these, and all who reside in the four dioceses omitted, the number of Spaniards, and of those of a mixed race, may probably amount to a million and a half. In some places, Villa Segnor distinguishes between Spaniards and the three inferior races of negroes, Mulattos, and Mestizos, and marks their numbers separately. But he generally blends them together. But from the proportion observable in those places, where the number of each is marked, as well as from the account of the state of population in New Spain by other authors, it is manifest that the number of negroes and persons of a mixed race far exceeds that of the Spaniards. Perhaps the latter ought not to be reckoned above 500,000 to a million of the former.

DEFECTIVE as this account may be, I have not been able to procure fuch intelligence concerning the number of people in Peru, as might enable me to form any conjecture equally fatisfying with respect to the degree of its population. I have been informed, that in the year 1761, the protector of the Indians in the vice-royalty of Peru computed that 612,780 paid tribute to the king. As all females, and persons under age, are exempted from this tax in Peru, the total number of Indians ought, by that account, to be 2,449,120. MS. penes me.

I SHALL mention another mode, by which one may compute, or at least form a guess concerning the state of population in New Spain and Peru. According to an account which I have reason to consider as accurate, the number of copies of the bull of Cruzada, exported to Peru on each new publication, is 1,171,953; to New Spain 2,649,326. I am informed, that but few Indians purchase bulls, and that they are sold chiefly to the Spanish inhabitants, and those of mixed race, so that the number of Spaniards, and people of a mixed race, will amount, by this mode of computation, at least to three millions.

The number of inhabitants in many of the towns in Spanish America, may give us some idea of the extent of population, and correct the inaccurate, but popular notion entertained in Great Britain, concerning the weak and desolate state of their colonies. The city of Mexico contains at least 150,000 people. Los Angeles contains above 60,000 Spaniards, and people of a mixed race. Villa Segnor, p. 247. Guadalaxara contains above 30,0000, exclusive of Indians. Id. ii. 206. Lima contains 54,000. D. Cosine, Bueno Descr. de Peru, 1764. Carthagena contains 25,000. Potosi contains 25,000. Bueno, 1767. Popayan contains above 20,000. Ulloa, i. 287. Towns of a second class are still more numerous. The cities in the most thriving settlements of other European nations in America cannot be compared with these.

THESE are fuch detached accounts of the number of people in feveral towns, as I found feattered in authors whom I thought worthy of credit. But I have obtained an enumeration of the inhabitants of the towns in the province of Quito, on the accuracy of which I can rely; and I communicate it to the Public, both to gratify curiofity, and to rectify the mistaken notion which I have mentioned. St. Francisco de Quito contains between 50 and 60,000 people of all the different races. Befides the city, there are in the Corregimiento 20 curacies established in the principal villages, each of which has fmaller hamlets depending upon it. The inhabitants of these are mostly Indians and Mestizos. St. Juan de Pasto has between 6 and 8000 inhabitants, besides 27 dependent villages. St. Miguel de Ibarra 7000 citizens, and ten villages. The diftrict of Havala between 18 and 20,000 people. The diffrict of Tacunna between 10 and 12,000. The district of Ambato between 8 and 10,000, befides 16 depending villages. The city of Riobamba between 16 and 20,000 inhabitants, and o depending villages. The district of Chimbo between 6 and 8000. The city of Guaquil from 16 to 20,000 inhabitants, and 14 depending villages. The district of Atuasi between 5 and 6000, and 4 depending villages. The city of Cuenza between 25 and 30,000 inhabitants, inhabitants, and o populous depending villages. The town of Laxa from 8 to 10,000 inhabitants, and 14 depending villages. This degree of population though flender, if we confider the vast extent of the country, is far beyond what is commonly supposed. I have omitted to mention, in its proper place, that Quito is the on-Iv province in Spanish America, that can be denominated a manufacturing country; hats, cotten stuffs, and course woollen cloths, are made there in fuch quantities, as to be fufficient not only for the confumption of the province, but to furnish a confiderable article for exportation into other parts of Spanish America. I know not whether the uncommon industry of this province should be confidered as the cause or effect of its populousness. But among the oftentatious inhabitants of the New World, the paffion for every thing that comes from Europe is fo violent, that I am told the manufactures of Quito are fo much undervalued, as to be on the decline.

NOTE XLVI. p. 210.

THESE are established at the following places. St. Domingo in the island of Hispaniola, Mexico in New Spain, Lima in Peru, Panama in Tierra Firme, Santiago in Guatimala, Guadalaxara in New Galicia, Santa Fé in the New Kingdom of Granada, La Plata in the country of Los Charcas, St. Francisco de Quito, St. Jago de Chili, Buenos Ayres. To each of these are subjected several large provinces, and some so far removed from the cities where the courts are fixed, that they can derive little benefit from their jurisdiction. The Spanish writers commonly reckon up twelve courts of Audience, but they include that of Manila in the Philippine Islands.

and odminds to them be a larger of Chambo be-

20,000 landblants, and r.s. desending villages, Pho

and between to sad 20,000 in motions.

held by right of allegander tak cannot be

NOTE XLVII. p. 216.

AN account of the distance of Peru and Chili from Spain, and the difficulty of carrying commodities of such bulk as wine and oil across the isthmus of Panama, the Spaniards in those provinces have been permitted to plant vines and olives. But they are strictly prohibited from exporting wine or oil to Panama, Guatimala, or any province in such a situation as to receive it from Spain. Recop. lib. tit. xviii. l. 15—18.

NOTE XLVIII. p. 217.

THIS computation was made by Benzoni, A. D. 1550, fifty-eight years after the discovery of America. Hist. Nov. Orbis, lib. iii. c. 21. But as Benzoni wrote with the spirit of a malcontent, disposed to detract from the Spaniards in every particular, it is possible that his calculation may be too low.

NOTE XLIX. p. 219.

MY information with respect to the division and transmission of property in the Spanish colonies is imperfect. The Spanish authors do not explain this fully, and have not perhaps attended sufficiently to the effects of their own institutions and laws. Solorzano de jure Ind. vol. ii. lib. ii. l. 16. explains in some measure the introduction of the tenure of Mayorasso, and mentions some of its effects. Villa Segnor takes notice of a singular consequence of it. He observes, that in some of the best situations in the city of Mexico, a good deal of ground is unoccupied, or covered only with the ruins of the houses once erected upon it; and adds, that as this ground is

held by right of Mayorasgo, and cannot be alienated, that desolation and those ruins become perpetual. Theatr. Amer. vol. i. p. 34.

NOTE L. p. 220.

THERE is no law that excludes Creoles from offices either civil or ecclefiaftic. On the contrary, there are many Cedulas which recommend the conferring places of trust indiscriminately on the natives of Spain and America. Betancurt y Figueroa Derecho, &c. p. 5, 6. But notwith anding such repeated recommendations, preferment in almost every different line is conferred on native Spaniards. A remarkable proof of this is produced by the author last quoted. From the discovery of America to the year 1637, three hundred and sixtynine bishops, or archbishops, had been appointed to the different dioceses in that country, and of all that number only twelve were Creoles, p. 40.

NOTE LI. p. 225.

MODER ATE as this tribute may appear, fuch is the extreme poverty of the Indians in many provinces of America, that the exacting of it is intolerably oppressive. Pegna Itiner. par Parochos de Indios, p. 192.

NOTE LII. p. 226.

IN New Spain, on account of the extraordinary merit and services of the first conquerors, as well as the small revenue arising from the country, previous to the discovery of the mines of Sacatecas, the encomiendas were granted for three, and sometimes for four lives. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. ii. c. 14, &c.

n the city of Alexandry a good deal of ground in

NOTE LIII. p. 227.

D. Ant. Ulloa contends, that working in the mines is not noxious, and as a proof of this informs us, that many Mestizos and Indians, who do not belong to any Repartimiento, voluntarily hire themselves as miners; and feveral of the Indians, when the legal term of their fervice expires, continue to work in the mines of choice. Entreten. p. 265. But his opinion concerning the wholesomeness of this occupation is contrary to the experience of all ages; and wherever men are allured by high wages, they will engage in any species of labour, however fatiguing or pernicious it may be. D. Hern. Carillo Altemirano relates a curious fact incompatible with this opinion. Wherever mines are wrought, fays he, the number of Indians decreases; but in the provinces of Campeachy, where there are no mines, the number of Indians has increased more than a third since the conquest of America, though neither the soil nor climate be fo favourable as in Peru or Mexico. Colbert Collect. In another memorial prefented to Philip III. in the year 1600, Captain Juan Gonzalez de Azevedo afferts, that in every district of Peru, where the Indians are compelled to labour in the mines, their numbers were reduced to the half, and in some places to the third of what it was under the viceroyalty of Don Fran. Toledo in 1581. Colb. Collect.

NOTE LIV. p. 227.

As labour of this kind cannot be prescribed with legal accuracy, the tasks seem to be in a great measure arbitrary, and like the services exacted by feudal superiors, in vinea, prato aut messe, from their vassals, are extremely burdensome, and often wantonly oppressive. Pegna Itiner. par Parochos de Indios.

NOTE LV. p. 227.

THE turn of service known in Peru by the name of Mita, is called Tanda in New Spain. There it continues no longer than a week at a time. No person is called to serve at a greater distance from his habitation than 24 miles. This arrangement is less oppressive to the Indians than that established in Peru. Memorial of Hern. Carillo Altamirano. Colbert Collect.

NOTE LVI. p. 229.

I HE frongest proof of this may be deduced from the laws themselves. By the multitude and variety of regulations to prevent abuses, we may form an idea of their number. Though the laws have, wifely, provided that no Indian shall be obliged to serve in any mine at a greater distance from his place of residence than thirty miles; we are informed in a memorial of D. Hernan Carillo Altamirano presented to the king, that the Indians of Peru are often compelled to ferve in mines at the distance of a hundred, a hundred and fifty, and even two hundred leagues from their habitation. Colbert Collect. Many mines are fituated in parts of the country fo barren, and fo distant from the ordinary habitations of the Indians, that the necessity of procuring labourers to work there, has obliged the Spanish monarchs to difpense with their own regulations in several instances, and to permit the viceroys to compel the people of more remote provinces to refort to those mines. Escalona Gazophyl. Perub. lib. i. c. 16. But in justice to them it should be observed, that they have been studious to alleviate this oppression as much as possible, by enjoining the viceroys to employ every method, in order to induce the Indians to fettle in some part of the country adjacent to the mines. Id. ibid.

NOTE LVII. p. 233.

FORQUEMADA, after a long enumeration, which has the appearance of accuracy, concludes the number of monafteries in New Spain to be four hundred. Mon. Ind. lib. xix. c. 32. The number of monasteries in the city of Mexico alone was, in the year 1745, fifty-five. Villa-Segnor. Theat. Amer. i. 34. Ulloa reckons up forty convents in Lima; and mentioning those for nuns. he fays, that a fmall town might be peopled out of them, the number of perfons that up there is fo great. Voy. i. 420. Philip III. in a letter to the viceroy of Peru, A. D. 1620, observes that the number of convents in Lima was fo great, that they covered more ground than all the rest of the city. Solonz. lib. iii. c. 23. n. 57. Lib. iii. c. 16. Torquem. lib. xv. c. 3. The first monastery in New Spain was founded, A. D. 1525, four years only after the conquest. Torq. lib. xv. c. 16.

According to Gil Gonzalez Davila, the complete establishment of the American church in all the Spanish settlements was, in the year 1649, I patriarch, 6 archbishops, 32 bishops, 346 prebends, 2 abbots, 5 royal chaplains, 840 convents. Teatro Ecclesiastico de las Ind. Occident. vol. i. Pref. When the order of Jesuits was expelled from all the Spanish dominions, the colleges, prosessed houses, and residences, which it possessed in the province of New Spain, were thirty, in Quito sixteen, in the New Kingdom of Granada thirteen, in Peru seventeen, in Chili eighteen, in Paraguay eighteen, in all a hundred and twelve. Colleccion General de Providencias hasta acqui tomadas sobre estranamento, &c. de la Compagnia, part i. p. 19. The number of jesuits, priests and novices in all these amounted to 2245. MS. penes me.

In the year 1644, the city of Mexico presented a petition to the king, praying that no new monastery might be founded, and that the revenues of those already established might be circumscribed, otherwise the religious houses would soon acquire the property of the whole country. They request likewise, that the bishops might be laid under restrictions in conferring holy orders, as there were at that time in New Spain above six thousand clergymen without any living. Id. p. 16. They must have been enormous abuses indeed, when the superstition of American Spaniards was shocked, and induced to remonstrate against them.

NOTE LVIII. p. 236.

I HIS description of the manners of the Spanish clergy, I should not have ventured to give, upon the testimony of protestant authors alone, as they may be suspected of prejudice or exageration. Gage, in particular, who had a better opportunity than any protestant, to view the interior state of Spanish America; describes the corruption of the church, which he had forfaken, with fo much of the acrimony of a new convert, that I should have distrusted his evidence, though it communicates fome very curious and striking facts. But Benzoni mentions the profligacy of ecclefiaftics in America at a very early period after their fettlement there. Hift. lib. ii. c. 10, 20. M. Frezier, an intelligent observer, and zealous for his own religion, paints the diffolute manners of the Spanish ecclesiastics in Peru, particularly the regulars, in stronger colours than I have employed. Voy. p. 51.215, &c. M. Gentil confirms this account. Voy. i. 34. Correal concurs with both, and adds many remarkable circumstances. Voy. i. 61. 155. 161. I have good reason to believe that the manners of the regular clergy, particularly in Peru, are still extremely indecent. Acosta himself acknowledges that great corruption of manners had been the consequence of permitting monks to forfake the

the retirement and discipline of the cloister, and to mingle again with the world, by undertaking the charge of the Indian parishes. De procur. Ind. Salute, lib. iv. c. 13, &c. He mentions particularly those vices, of which I have taken notice, and confiders the temptations to them as fo formidable, that he leans to the opinion of those who hold, that the regular clergy should not be employed as parish priests. Lib. v. c. 20. Even the advocates for the regulars admit, that many and great enormities abounded among the monks of different orders, when fet free from the restraint of monastic discipline; and from the tone of their defence, one may conclude that the charge brought against them was not destitute of truth. In the French colonies, the state of the regular clergy is nearly the same as in the Spanish settlements, and the fame confequences have followed. M. Biet, fuperior of the fecular priefts in Cayenne, inquires with no less piety than candour, into the causes of this corruption, and imputes it chiefly to the exemption of regulars from jurisdiction and censures of their diocesans; to the temptations to which they are exposed; and to their engaging in commerce. Voy. p. 320. It is remarkable that all the authors, who cenfure the licentiousness of the Spanish regulars with greatest severity, concur in vindicating the conduct of the Jesuits. Formed under a discipline more perfect than that of the other monastic orders, or animated by that concern for the honour of the fociety, which takes fuch full possession of every member, the Jesuits, both in Mexico and Peru, it is allowed, have maintained a most irreproachable decency of manners. Frezier, 223. Gentil, i. 34. The same praise is likewise due to the bishops and most of the dignified clergy. Frez. Ibid.

NOTE LIX. p. 236.

OLORZANO, after mentioning the corrupt morals of some of the regular clergy, with that cautious referve, which became a Spanish layman, in touching on a fubject fo delicate; gives his opinion very explicitly, and with much firmness against committing parochial charges to monks. He produces the testimony of several respectable authors of his country, both divines and lawyers, in confirmation of his opinion. De Jure Ind. ii. lib. iii. c. 16. A striking proof of the alarm excited by the attempt of the Prince d'Esquilachè to exclude the regulars from parochial cures, is contained in the Colbert collection of papers. Several memorials were presented to the king by the procurators for the monastic orders, and replies were made to these in name of the fecular clergy. An eager, and even rancorous, fpirit is manifest on both sides, in the conduct of this dispute.

NOTE LX. p. 240.

NOT only the native Indians, but the Meftizos, or children of a Spaniard and Indian, were originally excluded from the priesthood, and refused admission into any religious order. But by a law iffued Sept. 28th, 1588, Philip II. required the prelates of America to ordain fuch mestizos born in lawful wedlock, as they should find to be properly qualified, and to permit them to take the vows in any monastery where they had gone through a regular novicate. Recopil. lib. i. tit. vii. l. 7. Some regard feems to have been paid to this law in New Spain; but none in Peru. Upon a representation of this to Charles II. in the year 1607, he iffued a new edict enforcing the observation of it, and professing his desire to have all his subjects, Indians and mestizos, as well as Spaniards, admitted to the enjoyment of the fame privileges. Such, however, was the averfion

aversion of the Spaniards in America to the Indians, and their race, that this seems to have produced little effect; for, in the year 1725, Philip V. was obliged to renew the injunction in a more peremptory tone. But so unsurmountable are the hatred and contempt of the Indians among the Peruvian Spaniards, that the present king has been constrained to enforce the former edicts anew by a law, published September 11, 1774. Real Cedula, MS. penes me.

NOTE LXI. p. 243.

UZTARIZ, an accurate and cautious calculator, feems to admit, that the quantity of filver that does not pay duty may be stated thus high. According to Herrera, there was not above a third of what was extracted from Potosi that paid the king's fifth. Dec. viii. lib. ii. c. 15. Solorzano asserts likewise, that the quantity of silver which is fraudulently circulated, is far greater than that which is regularly stamped, after paying the fifth. De Ind. jure, vol. ii. lib. v. p. 846.

NOTE LXII. p. 246.

WHEN the mines of Potosi were discovered in the year 1545, the veins were so near the surface, that the ore was easily extracted, and so rich, that it was refined with little trouble, and at small expence, merely by the action of fire. This simple mode of resining by sussion alone continued until the year 1574, when the use of mercury in resining silver, as well as gold, was discovered. Those mines having been wrought without interruption for two centuries, the veins are now sunk so deep, that the expence of extracting the ore is greatly increased. Besides this, the richness of the ore, contrary to what happens in most other mines, has become less as the vein continued to dip, and has diminished to such a degree, that one is amazed that the Spaniards should persist in working it. Other rich mines have

been fucceffively discovered: but in general the value of the ores has decreased so much, while the expence of extracting them has augmented, that the court of Spain, in the year 1736, reduced the duty payable to the king from a fifth to a tenth. All the quickfilver used in Peru, is extracted from the famous mine of Guanacabelica, discovered in the year 1563. The crown has referved the property of this mine to itself; and the perfons who purchased the quickfilver, paid not only the price of it, but likewise a fifth, as a duty to the king. But, in the year 1761, this duty on quickfilver was abolished, on account of the increase of expence in working mines. Ulloa, Entretenimientos, xii.-xv. Voyage, i. p. 505. 523. Any of my readers who are defirous of being acquainted with the mode in which the Spaniards conduct thewor king of their mines, and the refinement of the ore, will find an accurate description of it by Acosta. Lib. iv. c. 1-13.

NOTE LXIII. p. 247.

IN consequence of this abolition of the fifth, and some subsequent abatements of price, which became necessary on account of the increasing expence of working mines, quicksilver, which was formerly sold at eighty pesos the quintal, is now delivered by the king at the rate of fixty pesos. Campomanes Educ. Popul. ii. 132. Note, The duty on gold is reduced to a twentieth, or five per cent.

NOTE LXIV. p. 249.

MANY remarkable proofs occur of the advanced ftate of industry in Spain, at the beginning of the fixteenth century. The number of cities in Spain was considerable, and they were peopled far beyond the proportion that was common in other parts of Europe. The causes of this I have explained, Hist. of Cha. V. i. 158. Wherever cities are populous, that species of industry which is peculiar to them increases, artificers and manufacturers abound. The effect of the American trade

trade in giving activity to these is manifest, from a fingular fact. In the year 1545, while Spain continued to depend on its own industry, for the supply of its colonies, fo much work was befpoke from the manufacturers, that it was supposed they could hardly finish it in fix years. Campom. i. 406. Such a demand must have put much industry in motion, and have excited extraordinary efforts. Accordingly, we are informed, that in the beginning of Philip the II's reign, the city of Seville alone, where the trade with America centered, gave employment to no fewer than 16,000 looms in filk or woollen work, and that above 130,000 persons had occupation in carrying on these manufactures. Campom. ii. 472. But so rapid and pernicious was the operation of the causes which I shall enumerate, that before Philip III. ended his reign, the looms in Seville were reduced to 400. Uztariz, c. 7.

NOTE LXV. p. 256.

NO bale of goods is ever opened, no cheft of treafure is examined. Both are received on the credit of the persons to whom they belong; and only one instance of fraud is recorded, during the long period in which trade was carried on with this liberal confidence. All the coined silver which was brought from Peru to Portobello in the year 1654, was found to be adulterated, and to be mingled with a fifth part of base metal. The Spanish merchants with their usual integrity, sustained the whole loss, and indemnissed the foreigners, by whom they were employed. The fraud was detected, and the treasurer of the revenue in Peru, the author of it, was publicly burnt. B. Ulloa Retablis. de Manus. &c. b. ii. p. 120.

NOTE LXVI. p. 260.

MANY striking proofs occur of the scarcity of money in Spain. Of all the immense sums which have been imported from America, the amount of which I shall afterwards have occasion to mention, Moncada as Vol. III.

ferts, that there did not remain in Spain, 1619, above two hundred millions of pefos, one half in coined money, the other in plate and jewels. Restaur. de Espagna, Disc. iii. c. 1. Uztariz, who published his valuable work in 1724, contends, that in money, plate, and jewels, there did not remain a hundred million. Theor. &c. c. 3. Campomanes on the authority of a remonstrance from the university of Toledo to Philip III. relates, as a certain proof how scarce cash had become, that persons who lent money, received a third part of the sum which they advanced, as interest and premium. Educ. popul. i. 417.

NOTE LXVII. p. 263.

I HE account of the mode in which the factors of the South Sea Company conducted the trade in the fair of Porto-bello, which was opened to them by the Affiento, I have taken from Don Dion. Alcedo y Herrera, prefident of the court of Audience in Quito, and governor of that province. Great credit is due to his testimony, as he was an eye-witness to the transactions which he relates, and often employed in detecting and authenticating the frauds which he describes. It is probable, however, that his representation being composed at the commencement of the war which broke out between Great Britain and Spain, in the year 1739, may, in some instances, be exaggerated. His detail of facts is curious; and even English authors confirm it in some degree, by admitting both that various frauds were practifed in the transactions of the annual ship, and that the countraband trade from Jamaica, and other British colonies, was become enormously great. But for the credit of the English nation it may be observed, that those fraudulent operations are not to be considered as deeds of the company, but as the dishonourable arts of their factors and agents. The Company itself fustained a confiderable lofs by the Affiento trade. Many of its fervants acquired immense fortunes. Anderson. Chronol. deduct. ii. 388.

NOTE LXVIII. p. 268,

DEVERAL facts with respect to the institution, the progress, and the effects, of this company, are curious and but little known to English readers. Though the province of Venezuela, or Caraccas, extends four hundred miles along the coast, and is one of the most fertile in America; it was so much neglected by the Spaniards, that during the twenty years prior to the establishment of the company, only five ships failed from Spain to that province; and during fixteen years, from 1706 to 1722, not a fingle fhip arrived from the Caraccas in Spain. Noticias de Real Compania de Caraccas, p. 28. During this period Spain must have been supplied almost entirely with the large quantity of cacao, which it confumes, by Before the erection of the company, neiforeigners. ther tobacco nor hides were imported from Caraccas into Spain. Id. p. 117. But fince the commercial operations of the company began in the year 1731, the importation of cacao into Spain, has increased amazingly. During thirty years subsequent to 1701, the number of Fanegas of cacao (each a hundred and ten pounds) imported from Caraccas, was 643,215. During eighteen years fubfequent to 1731, the number of Fanegas imported was 869,247; and if we suppose the importation to be continued in the same proportion during the remainder of thirty years, it will amount to 1,448,746 Fanegas, which is an increase of 805,531 Fanegas. Id. p. 148. During eight years subsequent to 1756, there has been imported into Spain by the Company, 88,482 arrobas (each twenty-five pound) of tobacco; and hides to the number of 177,354, Id. 161. Since the publication of the Noticias de Compania, in 1765, its trade feems to be on the increase. During five years subsequent to 1769, it has imported 179,156 Fanegas of cacao into Spain, 36,208 arrobas of tobacco, 75,469 hides, and 221,432 pefos in specie. Campomanes, The last article is a proof of the growing wealth of the colony. It receives cash from Mexico in return for the cacao, with which it supplies that province.

vince, and this it remits to Spain, or lays out in purchasing European goods. But, besides this, the most explicit evidence is produced, that the quantity of cacao raised in the province is double to what it yielded in 1731; the number of its live-stock is more than treble, and its inhabitants much augmented. The revenue of the bishop, which arises wholly from tythes, has increased from eight to twenty thousand pesos. Notic. p. 69. In consequence of the augmentation of the quantity of cacao imported into Spain, its price has decreased from eighty pesos for the fanega to forty. Id. 61.

NOTE LXIX. p. 273.

. HIS first experiment made by Spain of opening a free trade with any of her colonies, has produced effects fo remarkable, as to merit some farther illustration. The towns to which this liberty has been granted, are Cadiz and Seville, for the province of Andalusia; Alicant and Carthagena, for Valencia and Murcia; Barcelona, for Catalonia and Arragon; Santander, for Caftile; Corugna, for Galicia; and Gijon, for Asturias. Append. ii. a la Educ. popul. p. 41. These are either the ports of chief trade in their respective districts, or those most conveniently situated for the exportation of their respective productions. The following facts give a view of the increase of trade in the settlements, to which the new regulations extend. Prior to the allowance of free trade, the duties collected in the customhouse at the Havanna, were computed to be 104,208 pefos annually. During the five years preceding 1774, they rose at a medium to 308,000 pesos a year. In Yucatan, the duties have risen from 8,000 to 15,000. In Hispaniola from 2,500 to 5,600. In Porto Rico, from 1,200 to 7,000. The total value of goods imported from Cuba into Spain, was reckoned, in 1774, to be 1,500,000 pefos. Educ. Popul. i. 450, &c.

NOTE LXX. p. 278.

I HE two Treatifes of Don Pedro Rodriguez Campomanes, Fiscal del real consejo y Supremo (an office in rank and power nearly fimilar to that of Attorney General in England), and director of the Royal Academy of History, the one intitled, Discurso sobre el Fomento de la Industria Popular; the other Discurso sobre la Educacion Popular de los Artesanos y su Fomento; the former published in 1774, and the latter in 1775, afford a striking proof of this. Almost every point of importance with respect to interior police, taxation, agriculture, manufactures, and trade, domestic as well as foreign, is examined in the course of these works; and there are not many authors, even in the nations most eminent for commercial knowledge, who have carried on their inquiries with more thorough knowledge of those various subjects, and a more perfect freedom from vulgar and national prejudices, or who have united more happily the calm refearches of philosophy, with the ardent zeal of a public spirited citizen. These books are in high estimation among the Spaniards, and it is a decisive evidence of the progress of their own ideas, that they are capable of relishing an author whose sentiments are fo liberal.

NOTE LXXI. p. 282.

THE galeon employed in that trade, instead of the fix hundred tons, to which it is limited by law, Recop. lib. xlv. l. 15. is commonly from twelve hundred to two thousand tons burden. The ship from Acapulco, taken by Lord Anson, instead of the 500,000 person permitted by law, had on board 1,313,843 persos, besides uncoined silver equal in value to 43,611 person more. Anson's Voyage, 384.

NOTE LXXII. p. 284.

THE price paid for the bull varies according to the rank of different persons. Those in the lowest order, who are servants or slaves, pay two reals of plate, or one shilling; other Spaniards pay eight reals, and those in public office, or who hold encomiendas, sixteen reals. Solorz. de. jure Ind. vol. ii. lib. iii. c. 25. According to Chilton, an English merchant who resided long in the Spanish settlements, the bull of Cruzado bore an higher price in the year 1570, being then sold for sour reals at the lowest. Hakluyt, iii. 461. The price seems to have varied at different periods. That exacted for the bulls issued in the last *Predicacion*, will appear from the ensuing table, which will give some idea of the proportional numbers of the different classes of citizens in New Spain and Peru.

There were iffued for New Spain,

Bulls at	10	pefos each		- 4
at	2	pefos each	•	- 22,601
		pefo each	-	- 164,220
at	2	reals each		2,462,500
		aging L.D.	AL AT	2,649,325

For Peru,

		4½ reals e		
		3 reals ead	in ·	14,202
at	r peso,	5½ reals	1 25	78,822
at	4 reals	Magnetic o	50.27	410,325
at	3 reals	-	•	668,601
				1.171.052

NOTE LXXIII. p. 285.

S Villa Segnor, to whom we are indebted for this information, was accomptant-general in one of the most confiderable departments of the royal revenue, and by that means had access to proper information, his testimony with respect to this point merits great credit. No fuch accurate detail of the Spanish revenues in any part of America, has hitherto been published in the English language, and the particulars of it may appear curious and interesting to some of my readers.

FROM the bull of Cruzada, published ever	y two years
there arises an annual revenue in pesos	150,000
From the duty on filver	700,000
From ditto on gold	60,000
From tax on cards	70,000
From tax on Pulque, a drink used by the	PORT TERM
Indians	161,000
From tax on stamped paper	41,000
From ditto on ice	15,522
From ditto on leather	2,500
From ditto on gunpowder	71,550
From tax on falt	32,000
From ditto on copper of Mechocan -	1,000
From ditto on alum	6,500
From ditto on Juego de los Gallos -	21,100
From the half of ecclefiaftical annats -	49,000
From royal ninth of bishoprics, &c	68,800
From the tribute of Indians	650,000
From Alcavala, or duty on fale of goods	721,875
From the Almajorifasgo, custom-house -	373,333
From the mint	357,500
Everyon to the once no bloomer to be 3	,552,680

min or the field on serous of corroys to

But rew strongs agont be of police spill

eer he his expedition into the South Bast

28 Pr lieu Sir France Briske filled the New World

THIS fum amounts to 819,1611. Sterling, and if we add to it the profit accruing from the fale of 5000 quintals of quickfilver, imported from the mines of Almaden, in Spain, on the king's account, and what accrues from the Averia, and some other taxes which Villa Signor does not estimate, may well be reckoned above a million pounds sterling money. Theat. Mex. vol. i. p. 38, According to Villa Segnor, the total produce of the Mexican mines, amounts at a medium to eight millions of pefos in filver annually, and to 5012 marks of gold. Ib. p. 44. Several branches of the revenue have been explained in the course of the history; some, which there was no occasion of mentioning, require a particular illustration. The right of the tythes in the New World, is vefted in the crown of Spain, by a bull of Alexander VI. Charles V. appointed them to be applied in the following manner. One-forth is allotted to the bishop of the diocese, another fourth to the dean and chapter, and other officers of the cathedral. The remaining half is divided into nine equal parts. Two of these, under the denomination of los dos Novenos reales, are paid to the crown, and constitute a branch of the royal revenue. The other feven parts are applied to the maintainance of the parochial clergy, the building and support of churches, and other pious uses. Recopil. lib. i. tit. xvi. Ley, 23, &c. Avendano Thefaur. Indic. vol. i. p. 184.

THE Alcavala, is a duty levied by an excise on the sale of goods. In Spain, it amounts to ten per cent. In America to sour per cent. Solorzano Polit. Indiana, lib. vi. c. 8. Avendano, vol. i. 186.

THE Almajorifasgo, or custom paid in America on goods imported and exported, may amount on an average to fifteen per cent. Recopil. lib. viii. tit. xiv. Ley. 1. Avendano, vol. i. 188.

THE Averia, or tax paid on account of convoys to guard the ships failing to and from America, was first imposed when Sir Francis Drake filled the New World with terror by his expedition into the South Sea,

It

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

It amounts to 2 per cent. on the value of goods. Avindano, vol. i. p. 189. Recopil. lib. ix. tit. ix. Ley, 43, 44.

I HAVE not been able to procure any accurate detail of the several branches of revenue in Peru, later than the year 1614. From a curious manuscript, containing a state of that vice-royalty in all its departments, presented to the Marquis of Montes-Claros, by Fran. Lopez Caravantes, accomptant general in the tribunal of Lima, it appears, that the public revenue, as nearly as I can compute the value of the money in which Caravantes states his accounts, that the revenue collected, amounted in ducats, at 4s. 11d. to - 2,372,768

Expences of government - 1,242,992

Net free revenue 1,129,776

The total in sterling money - £. 583,303 Expences of government - 205,568

Net free revenue 277,735

But feveral articles appear to be omitted in this computation, such as the duty on stamped paper, leather, ecclesiastical annats, &c. so that the revenue of Peru may be well supposed to be equal to that of Mexico.

In computing the expence of government in New Spain, I may take that of Peru as a standard. There the annual establishment for defraying the charge of administration, exceeds one half of the revenue collected, and there is no reason for supposing it to be less in New Spain.

I HAVE obtained a calculation of the total amount of the public revenue of Spain from America and the Philippines, which, as the reader will perceive from the two last articles, is more recent than any of the former.

Alcavalas

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

MOTES AND ILLUSTRAT	10110.
Alcavalas (Excife) and Aduanas pefos	ot ellinoide
fuertes (Customs), &c	2,500,000
Duties on gold and filver -	3,000,000
Bull of Cruzada	1,000,000
Tribute of the Indians,	2,000,000
By fale of quickfilver -	300,000
Paper exported on the king's account,	
and fold in the royal ware-houses	300,000
Stamped paper, tobacco, and other fmall	
duties	1,000,000
Duty on coinage of, at the rate of one	
real de la Plata for each mark	300,000
From the trade of Acapulco, and the	
coasting trade from province to pro-	District Co.
vince	500,000
Affiento of negroes	200,000
From the trade of Mathe, or herb of	200,000
Paraguay, formerly monopolized by	NEW YORK
the Jesuits	500,000
From other revenues formerly belong-	
ing to that order	400,000
and to that order	400,000
Total	12,000,000
Control of the province of the second	
Total in sterling money	2,700,000
Deduce half, as the expence of admi-	Torin Ni A
nistration, and there remains net	How sel wer
free revenue	1 270 000
A description to sometime	1,350,000

NOTE LXXIV. p. 285.

Sound I way to that of I or u as a mandard.

AN author, long conversant in commercial speculation, has computed that from the mines of New Spain alone, the king receives annually, as his fifth, the sum of two millions of our money. Harris Collect. of Voy. ii. p. 164. According to this calculation, the total produce of the mines must be ten millions sterling; a sum so

Alcavalds

fo exorbitant, and so little corresponding with all accounts of the annual importation from America, that the information on which it was founded must evidently be erroneous. According to Campomanes, the total product of the American mines may be computed at thirty millions of pesos, which, at four shillings and six pence a peso, amounts to 7,425,000l. sterling, the king's fifth of which (if that were regularly paid) would be 1,485,000l. But from this sum the expence of administration is to be deducted, which is very considerable as appears from the preceding note. Educ. Popular, vol. ii. p. 131. note.

NOTE LXXV. p. 285.

According to Bern. de Ulloa, all foreign goods exported from Spain to America pay duties of various kinds, amounting in all to more than 25 per cent. As most of the goods with which Spain supplies her colonies are foreign; such a tax upon a trade so extensive must yield a considerable revenue. Retablished Manush. & du Commerce d'Esp. p. 150. He computes the value of goods exported annually from Spain to America, to be about two millions and a half sterling, p. 97.

NOTE LXXVI. p. 287.

THE Marquis de Serralvo, according to Gage, by a monopoly of falt, and by embarking deeply in the Manila trade as well as in that of Spain, gained annually a million of ducats. In one year he remitted a million of ducats to Spain, in order to purchase from the Condè Olivares, and his creatures, a prolongation of his government, p. 61. He was successful in his suit, and continued in office from 1624 to 1635, double the usual time.

To two plants, and in little corresponding with with corresponding on the contract of the corresponding to the corresponding to the corresponding of the contract of the contract of the corresponding of the corresponding to the corresponding to

NOTE LEEVE PLANT.

I's CCORDING confluent destines, and terring government have a particular of government have a superstant of the course hinds, apparent of the goods with which legalized of the goods with which legalized point flequilles her colonier are from a tack to extend of the colonier are from a tack to extend the colonier and think at an analysis at a superstant of the computes the take of goods conspected from the computes are take of goods conserved from the shall destines and the colonier are mailtings and a fall freeling.

America, to be shown two millions and a fall freeling.

P. 07.

NOTE TAXA BACK

I HE Marquis in Sensite's according to Gage, by a monopoly of this, and by embreshing despity in the Mr. In a trade as well as in that of Spain, graned annually a make in the reaction of shorters to be supplied to expect the sensition of shorters to be produced as order to expect the sensition of the continues, and his constitutely as a make the sensition of th

SHORT ACCOUNT

OF

What is contained in the LETTER fent to the EMPEROR, mentioned Preface, p. xi.

THIS letter is dated July 6th, 1519. Cortes in his fecond dispatch takes notice that it was sent off on the 16th of July.

The great object of the persons who wrote this letter, is to justify their own character in establishing a colony independent on the jurisdiction of Velasquez. With this view they endeavour to detract from his merit, in fitting out the two former armaments under Cordova and Grijalva, representing these as equipped by the adventurers who engaged in the expedition, not by the governor. They labour likewise to depreciate the services of Cordova and Grijalva, in order to exalt the merit of their own exploits.

THEY contend, that the fole object of Velafquez was to trade or barter with the natives, not to attempt the conquest of New Spain, or the establishment of a colony there. This is frequently mentioned by B. Diaz del Castillo, c. 19. 41, 42, &c. But if Velasquez had not conquest and set lement in view, there seems to have been no reason for equipping such a considerable armament.

THEY

THEY affert, that Cortes defrayed the greatest part of the expence of fitting out the armament. But this does not agree with the account of his stender fortune given by Gomara, Cron. c. 7. and B. Diaz, c. 20, or what I have mentioned Note laxi. vol. ii.

THEY take notice, that though considerable numbers were wounded in their different encounters with the people of Tabasco, not one of them died, and all recovered in a short time. This seems to confirm what I have observed vol. ii. p. 211, concerning the impersection of the offensive weapons of the Americans.

They give some account of the manners and stitutions of the Mexicans. It is very short, and as they had resided but a short time in the country, and had but little intercourse with the natives, it is both desective and inaccurate. They describe minutely, and with great horror, the human sacrifices offered by the Mexicans to their deities, and affirm that some of their number were eyewitnesses of those barbarous rites.

THEY subjoin to their letter a catalogue and description of the presents sent to the emperor. That published by Gomara, Cron. c. 29. seems to have been copied from it, and Pet. Martyr describes many of the articles in his treatise De Insulis nuper inventis, p. 354, &c.

CATALOGUE

OF

Spanish Books and Manuscripts.

A

A CARETE de Biscay, Relation des Voyages dans la Riviere de la Plata, & dela par Terre au Perou. Exstat. Recueil de Thevenot, Part IV.

and thence by Land to Peru, 8vo. London, 1698.

Acosta (Joseph de) Histoire Naturelle & Moral des Indes

tant Orientales qu' Occidentales, 8vo. Paris, 1600.

Novi Orbis Historia Naturalis & Moralis.

Exft. in Collect. Theod. de Bry, Pars IX.

Acugna (P. Christoph.) Relation de la Riviere des Ama-

zones, 12mo. Tom. ii. Paris, 1682.

S

t

,

Alarchon (Fern.) Navigatione a Scoprere il Regno di di fette Città. Ramufio, III. 363.

Albuquerque Coello (Duartè de) Memorial de Artes de la Guerra del Brasil, 4to. Mad. 1634.

Alcafarado

Alcafarado (Franc.) An Historical Relation of the Dif-

covery of the Isle of Madera, 4to. Lond. 1675.

Alcedo y Herrera (D. Dionysio de) Aviso Historico-Politico-Geografico, con las Noticias mas particulares, del Peru, Tierra Firme, Chili, y nuevo Reyno de Granada, 4to. Mad. 1740.

- Compendio Historico de la Provincia y Puerto

de Guayaquil, 4to. Mad. 1741.

Aldama y Guevara (D. Jos. Augustin de) Arte de la

Lengua Mexicana, 12mo. Mexico, 1754.

Alvarado (Pedro de) Dos Relaciones a Hern. Cortes Referiendole sus Expediciones y Conquistas en varias Provincias de N. Espagna. Exft. Barcia Historiad. Primit. tom. i.

· Lettre due, &c. Exft. Ramuf. III. 296. Aranzeles Reales de los Ministros de la Real Audiencia de N. Espagna, fol. Mexico, 1727.

Argenfola (Bartolome Leonardo de) Conquista de las

Islas Malucas, fol. Mad. 1609.

- Anales de Aragon, fol. Saragoss, 1630. Arriago (P. Pablo Jos. de) Extirpacion de la Idolatria

del Peru, 4to. Lima, 1621.

Avendagno (Didac.) Thefaurus Indicus ceu generalis Instructor pro Regimine Conscientiæ, in is isquæ ad Indias spectant, fol. 2 vols. Antwerp, 1660.

Barcia (D. And. Gonzal.) Historiadores Primitivos de las Indias Occidentales, fol. 3 vols. Mad. 1749.

Barco-Centinera (D. Martin di) Argentina y Conquista del Rio de la Plata Poema. Exst. Barcia Hist. Primit. III. Barros (João de) Decadas de Afia, fol. 4 vols. Lisboa,

1628.

Bellesteros (D. Thomas de) Ordenanzas del Peru, fol.

2 vols. Lima, 1685. Benzo (Hieron.) Novi Orbis Historiæ—De Bry Ame-

rica, Part IV, V, VI.

Betancurt y Figueroa (Don Luis) Derecho de las Iglesias Metro Politanas de las Indias, 4to. Mad. 1637.

Blanco (F. Matias Ruiz) Conversion de Piritu de Indios

Cumanagotos y otros, 12mo. Mad. 1690.

Boturini Benaduci (Lorenzo) Idea de una nueva Historica general de la America Septentrional, fundada fobre material copiosa de Figuras, Symbolas Caracteres, Cantares y Manuscritos de Autores Indios, 4to. Mad. 1746.

Botello

Botello de Moraes y Vasconcellos (D. Francisco de) El Nuevo Mundo Poema Heroyco, 4to. Barcelona, 1701.

Botero Benes (Juan) Description de Todas las Provincias, Reynos, y Ciudades del Mundo, 4to. Girona, 1748.

Brietius (Phil.) Paralela Geographiæ Veteris & Novæ, 4to. Paris, 1648.

C

Cabeza de Baca (Alvar Nugnez) Relacion de los Naufragios. Exft. Barcia Hift. Prim. Tom. i.

Narration de les Naufragios. Exft. ibid.

Commentarios de lo fuccedido duarante

fu gubierno del Rio de la Plata. Exft. ibid.

Cabo de Vacca Relatione de. Exft. Ramufio, III. 310. Cabota (Sebaft.) Navigazione de. Exft. Ramuf II. 211. Calancha (F. Anton. de la) Cronica moralizada del Order de San Augustin en el Peru, fol. Barcelona, 1638

California—Diario Historico de los Viages de Mar y Tierra hechos en 1768, al Norte de California di orden del Marques de Croix Vi-rey de Nueva Espagna, &c. MS.

Calle (Juan Diaz de la) Memorial Informatorio de lo que a fu Magestad Provien de la Nueva Espagna y Peru, 4to. 1645.

Caracas—Real Cedula de Fundacion de la real Compag-

nia Guipuscoana de Caracas, 12mo. Mad. 1765.

Caravantes (Fr. Lopez de) Relacion de las Provincias que tiene el Govierno del Peru, los Officios que en el fe Provien, y la Hacienda que alli tiene fu Magestad, lo que se Gasta de ella y le queda Libre, &c. &c. Dedicado al Marques de Santos Claros, Agno. de 1611. MS.

Cardenas y Cano (Gabr.) Enfayo Cronologico para la

Historia general de la Florida, fol. Mad. 1733.

Caro de Torres (Franc.) Historia de las Ordenes Militares de Santiago, Calatrava y Alcantara, fol. Mad. 1629.

Carranzana (D. Gonçales) A Geographical Description of the Coasts, &c. of the Spanish West-Indies, 8vo. Lond.

Casas (Bart. de las) Brevissima Relacion de la Destruy-

cion de las Indias, 4to. 1552.

---- Narratio Iconibus Illustrata per Theod. de Bry,

4to. Oppent. 1614.

Discoveries of the Spaniards in America, 8vo. Lond. 1693. Vol. III. A a Cassani Caffani (P. Joseph) Historia de la Provincia de Compagnia de Jesus del Nuevo Reyno de Granada, fol. Mad. 1741.

Castanheda (Fern. Lop. de) Historia do Descobrimento & Conquista de India pelos Portugueses, fol. 2 vol. Lisboa, 1552.

Castellanos (Juan de) Primera parte de las Elegias de

Varones Illustres de Indias, 4to Mad. 1589.

. Castillo (Bernal Diaz del) Historia Verdadera de la Con-

quista de Nueva Espagna, fol. Mad. 1632.

Cavallero (D. Jos. Garcia) Brieve Cotejo y Valance de las pesas y Medidas di varias Naciones, reducidas a las que Corren en Castilla, 4to. Mad. 1731.

Cieça de Leon (Pedro de) Chronica del Peru, fol. Sevill.

1553.

Cifneros (Diego) Sitio, Naturaleza y Propriedades de la Ciudad de Mexico, 4to. Mexico, 1618.

Cogullado (P. Fr. Diego Lopez) Historia de Yucatan,

fol. Mad. 1688.

Collecao dos Brives Pontificos e Leyes Regias que forao Expedidos y Publicadas desde o Anno 1741, sobre a la Liberdada des Pessoas bene e Commercio dos Indos de Bresil.

Coleccion General de las Providencias hasta aqui tomadas per el Gobierno sobre el Estragnimento, y Occupacion de Temporalidades de los Regulares de la Compagnia, de Espagna, Indias, &c. Partes IV. 4to. Mad. 1767.

Colon (D. Fernando) La Historia del Almirante, D.

Christoval Colon. Exst. Barcia Hist. Prim. I. 1.

Columbus (Christ.) Navigatio qua multas Regiones hactenus incognitas invenit. Exst. Nov. Orb. Grynzi, p. 90.

Concilios Provinciales Primero y Segundo celebrados en la muy Noble y muy leal Ciudad de Mexico en los Agnos de 1555 & 1565. fol. Mexico, 1769.

Concilium Mexicanum Provinciale tertium celebratum

Mexici, Anno 1585, fol. Mexici. 1770.

Corita (Dr. Alonzo) Breve y sumaria Relacion de los Segnores, manera y Differencia de ellos, que havia en la Nueva Espagna, y otras Provincias sus Comarcanas, y de sus Leyes, Usos y Costumbres, y de la Forma que tenian en Tributas sus Vasallos en Tiempo de su Gentilidad, &c. MS. 4to. pp. 307.

Coronada (Fr. Vasq. de) Sommario di due sue Lettere del Viaggio fatto del Fra. Marco da Nizza al sette Città de

Cevola. Exft. Ramufio III. 354.

Relation del Viaggio alle fette Citta. Ra mufio III. 359.

Cortes

C

Car

Efp C

Car

C

C

D

Dife 162

Prin

de 1

Obif

E

del]

Mad

conv

five

toru

than

Eroi

E

Fa

gal,

the F

Miffi

fo V

la Po

Teat

y Pr

Fe

Fe

Vicu

E

E

D

Mur

Cortes (Hern.) Quattro Cartas dirigidas al Emperador Carlos V. en que ha Relacion de fus Conquistas en la Nueva Espagna. Exst. Barcia Hist. Prim. tom. i.

Cortesii (Ferd.) De insulis nuper inventis Narrationes ad

Carolum V. fol. 1532.

Cortese (Fern.) Relationi, &c. Exst. Ramusio III. 225. Cubero (D. Pedro) Peregrinacion del Mayor Parte del Mundo Zaragoss. 4to. 1688.

D

Davila Padilla (F. Aug.) Historia de la Fundacion y Discurso de Provincia de St. Jago de Mexico, fol. Bruss. 1625.

Primitiva Iglesia de las Indias Occidentales, fol. 2 vols. 1649.

Documentos tocantes a la Persecucion, que los Regulares de la Compagnia suscitaron contra Don B. de Cardenas

Obispo de Paraguay, 4to. Mad. 1768.

E

Echavari (D. Bernardo Ibagnez de) El. Reyno Jesuitico del Paraguay. Exst. tom. iv. Coleccion de Documentos, 4to. Mad. 1770.

Echave y Assu (D. Francisco de) La Estrella de Lima convertida en Sol sobre sus tres Coronas, fol. Amberes, 1688.

Eguiara el Egueren (D. Jo. Jos.) Bibliotheca Mexicana, five Eruditorum Historia Virorum in America Boreali natorum, &c. tom. Prim. fol. Mex. 1755. N. B. No more than one volume of this work has been published.

Ercilla y Zuniga (D. Alonzo de) La Araucana Poema

Eroico, fol. Mad. 1733.

Escalona (D. Gaspar de) Gazophylacium Regium Peru-Vicum, fol. Mad. 1775.

F

Faria y Sousa (Manuel de) Historia del Reyno de Portu gal, sol. Amber. 1730.

History of Portugal from the first Ages to the Revolution under John IV. 8vo. Lond. 1698.

Fernandez (Diego) Historia del Peru, fol. Sevill. 1571.

(P. Juan Patr.) Relacion Historial de las

Missiones de los Indios que Claman Chiquitos, 4to. Mad. 1726.
Feyjoo (Benit. Geron) Espagnoles Americanos—Discur-

10 VI. del tom, iv. del Teatro Critico. Mad. 1769.

————Solucion del gran Problema Historico, sobre la Poblacion de la America—Discurso XV. del tom. v. del Teatro Critico.

-- (D. Miguel) Relacion Descriptiva de la ciudad

Aa2

y Provincia de Truxillo del Peru, fol. Mad. 1763.

Freyre

Freyre (Ant.) Piratas de la America, 4to. Frasso (D. Petro) De Regio Patronatu Indiarum, fol. 2 vols. Matriti, 1775.

G

Galvao (Antonio) Tratado dos Descobrimentos antigos y Modernos, fol. Lisboa, 1731.

Galvano (Ant.) The Discoveries of the World from the first Original unto the Year 1555. Osborne's Collect. II. 354.

Garcia (Gregorio) Historia Ecclesiastica y Seglar de la India Oriental y Occidental, y Predicacion de la Santa Evangelia en ella, 12mo. Baeca, 1626.

--- (Fr. Gregorio) Origen de los Indios del Nuevo

Mundo, fol. Mad. 1729.

Godoy (Diego de) Relacion al H. Cortes, que trata del Descubrimiento de diversas Ciudades, y Provincias y Guerras que tuio con los Indios. Exst. Barcia Hist. Prim. tom. i.

Gomara (Fr. Lopez de) La Historia general de las Indias, 12mo. Anv. 1554.

---- Historia general de las Indias. Exst. Barcia

Hift. Prim tom. ii.

---- Chronica de la Nueva Espagna ô Conquista

de Mexico. Exft. Barcia Hift. Prim. tom. ii.

Gumilla (P. Jos.) Histoire Naturelle, Civile & Geographique de l'Orenoque. Traduite par M. Eidous, 12mo. tom. iii. Avign. 1758.

Gusman (Nugno de) Relacion scritta in Omitlan Provincia de Mechuacan della maggior Spagna nell 1530. Exst.

Ramufio III. 331.

H

Henis (P. Thadeus) Ephemerides belli Guaranici, ab Anno 1754. Exft. Collecion general de Docum. tom: iv.

Hernandes (Fran.) Plantarum, Animalium & Minerali-

um Mexicanorum Historia, fol. Rom. 1651.

Herrera (Anton. de) Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierra Firma del Mar Oceano, fol. 4 vols. Mad. 1601.

--- Historia General, &c. 4 vols. Mad. 1730.

--- General History, &c. Translated by Stephens, 8vo. 6 vol. Lond. 1740.

--- Descriptio Indiæ Occidentalis, fol. Amst. 1622.

L

Leon (Fr. Ruiz. de) Hernandia Poema Heroyco de Conquista de Mexico, 4to. Mad. 1755.

y Occidental, Nautica y Geografica, fol. Mad. 1737.

Lima,

Lima, A true Account of the Earthquake which happened there 28th October 1746. Translated from the Spa-

nish, 8vo. Lond. 1748.

Lima Gozofa, Description de las festibas Demonstraciones, con que esta ciudad Celebrò la real Proclamacion de el Nombre Augusto del Catolico Monarcho D. Carlos III. Lima, 4to. 1760.

Llano Zapata (D. Jos. Euseb.) Preliminar al Tomo I. de las Memorias Historico-Physicas, Critico-Apologeticas

de la America Meridional, 8vo. Cadiz. 1759.

Lopez (Thom.) Atlas Geographico de la America Sep-

tentrional y Meridional, 12mo. Par. 1758.

Lorenzana (D. Fr. Ant.) Historia de Nueva Espagna, escrita por su Esclarecido Conquistador Hernan Cortes, Aumentada con otros Documentos y Notas, fol. Mex. 1770.

Lozano (P. Pedro) Description Chorographica, del Terretorios, Arboles, Animales, del Gran Chaco, y de los ritos y Costumbres, de las innumerabiles Naciones que la Habitan, 4to. Cordov. 1733.

- Historia de la Compagnia de Jesus en la

Provincia del Paraguay, fol. 2 vols. Mad. 1753.

belilier of the square Ties Mintacht vermanne proje

Madriga (Pedro de) Description de la Gouvernment du Perou. Exft. Voyages qui ont servi a l'etablissement de la comp. des Indes, tom. ix. 105.

Mariana (P. Juan de) Discurso de las Enfermedades de

la Compagnia de Jesus, 4to. Mad. 1768.

Martinez de la Puente (D. Jos.) Compendio de las Historias de los Descubrimientos, Conquistas y Guerras de la India Oriental, y sus Islas, desde los Tiempos del Infante Don Enrique de Portugal su inventor, 4to. Mad. 1681.

Martyr ab Angleria (Petr.) De Rebus Oceanicis & Novo

Orbe Decades tres, 12mo. Colon. 1574.

————— De Infulis nuper inventis, & de Moribus Incolarum. Ibid. p. 329.

- Opus Epistolarum, fol. Amst. 1670.

- Il Sommario cavato della fua Historia del Nuevo Mundo. Ramufio III. i.

Mechuacan-Relacion de las Ceremonias, Ritos y Poblacion de los Indios de Mechuacan-hecha al I. S. D. Ant. de Mendoza Virrey de Nueva Espagna, fol. MS.

Melendez (Fr. Juan) Teforos Verdaderos de las Indias Historia de la Provincia de S. Juan Baptista del Peru, del

Orden de Predicadores, fol. 3 vols.

Mendoza

Mendoza (D. Ant. de) Lettera al Imperatore del Discoprimento della Terra Firma della N. Spagna verso Tramontano. Exst. Ramusio III. 355.

de China con un Itinerario del Nuevo Mundo, 8vo. Rom.

1585.

Monardes (El Dottor) Primera y Segunda y Tercera Parte de la Historia Medicinal, de las Cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias Occidentales, que sirven en Medecina, 4to. Sevilla 1574.

Moncada (Sancho de) Restauracion Politica de Espag-

na y deseos Publicos, 4to. Mad. 1746.

N

Nizza (F. Marco) Relatione del Viaggio fatta per Terra al Cevole, Regno di cette Città. Exst. Ramuf. III. 356.

Nodal—Relacion del Viage que hicieron los Capitanes Barth. y Gornz. de Nodal al descubrimiento del Estrecho que hoy es nombrado de Maire, y reconocimiento del de

Magellanes, 4to. Mad.

Nueva Espagna—Historia de los Indios de Nueva Espagna dibidida en tres Partes. En la primera trata de los Ritos, Sacrificios y Idolatrias del Tiempo de su Gentilidad. En la segunda de su maravillosa Conversion a la Fè, y modo de celebrar las Fiestas de Nuestra Santa Iglesia. En la tercera del Genio y Caracter de aquella Gente; y Figuras con que notaban sus Acontecimientos, con otras particularidades; y Noticias de las principales Ciudades en aquel Reyno. Escrita en el Agno 1541 por uno de los doce Religiosos Franciscos que primero Passaron a entender en su Conversion, MS. sol. pp. 618.

0

Ogna (Pedro de) Arauco Domado. Poema, 12mo. Mad.

Ordenanzas del Consejoreal de las Indias, fol. Mad. 1681. Ortega (D. Casimiro de) Resumen Historico del primer Viage hecho al rededor del Mundo, 4to. Mad. 1769.

Offorio (Jerome) Hiftory of the Portuguese, during the

Reign of Emmanuel, 8vo. 2 vols. Lond. 1752.

Offorius (Hieron.) De Rebus Emmanuelis Lufitaniæ Regis, 8vo. Col. Agr. 1572.

Ovalle (Alonfo) Historica Relacion del Reyno de Chili, fol. Rom. 1646.

of Chili, Exft. Churchill Collect. III. 1.

Oviedo y Bagnos (D. Jos.) Historia la Conquista y Publacion de Venezuela, fol. Mad. 1723.

Oviedo

Oviedo (Alonfo) Sommaria, &c. Exft. Ramufio III.

Oviedo (Gonz. Fern. de) Relacion Sommaria de la Historia Natural de las Indias. Exft. Barcia Hist. Prim. tom. i. Oviedo Historia Generale & Naturale Dell Indie Occidentale. Exft. Ramufio. III. 74.

- Relatione della Navigatione per la Grandissima Fiume Maragnon. Exst. Ramus. III. 415.

P

Palafox y Mendoza (D. Juan) Virtudes del Indios o Naturaliza y Costumbres de los Indios de N. Espagna, 4to.

- Vie de Venerable Dom. Jean Palafox Eveque de l'Angelopolis, 12mo. Cologe, 1772.

Pegna (Juan Nugnez de la) Conquista y Antiguedades de las Islas de Gran. Canaria, 4to. Mad. 1676.

Pegna Montenegro (D. Alonfo de la) Itinerario para Parochos de Indios, en que tratan las materias mas partirulares, tocantes a ellos para su buen administracion, 4to. Amberes, 1754.

Peralta Barnuevo (D. Pedro de) Lima fundada o Con-

quista del Peru Poema Eroyco, 4to. Lima, 1732.

Peralta Calderon (D. Mathias de El Apostol de las Indiy nueves gentes San Francisco Xavier de la Compagnia de Jesus Epitome de sus Apostolicos hechos, 4to. Pamp. 1665.

Pereira de Berrido (Bernard.) Annaes Historicos do esta-

do do Maranchaō, fol. Lisboa, 1749.

Peru - Relatione d'un Capitano Spagnuolo del Descoprimento y Conquista del Peru. Exst. Ramus. III. 371.

Peru-Relatione d'un Secretario de Franc. Pizarro della Conquesta del Peru. Exst. Camusio III. 392.

- Relacion del Peru, MS.

Pesquisa de los Oydores de Panama contra D. Jayme Mugnos, &c. por haverlos Commerciado illicitamente en tiempo de Guerra, fol. 1755.

Philipinas-Carta que escribe un Religioso antiguo de Philipinas, a un Amigo fuyo en Espagna, que le pregunta el Naturel y Genio de los Indios Naturales de Estas Islas. MS. 4to.

Piedrahita (Luc. Fern.) Historia general de las Con-

quistas del Nuevo Reyno de Granada. fol. Ambres.

Pinelo (Ant. de Leon) Epitome de la Bibliotheca Oriental y Occidental en que se contienen los Escritores, de las Indias Orientales y Occidentales. fol. 2 vols. Mad. 1737.

Pinzonius

Pinzonius focius Admirantis Columbi — Navigatio & res per cum repartæ. Exft. Nov. Orb. Grynæi, p. 119. Pizzaro y Oréllana [D. Fern.] Varones illustres del N. Mundo, fol. Mad. 1639.

Puente [D. Jos Martinez de la] Compendio de las Hiftorias de los Descubrimientos de la India Oriental y sus

Islas, 4to. Mad 1681.

Quir [Ferd. de] Terra Australis Incognita,, or a New Southern Discovery, containing a fifth Part of the World lately found out, 4to. Lond. 1617.

Real Compagnia Guipuzcoana de Caracas, Noticias hiftoriales Practicas, de los Successos y Adelantemientos de esta Compagnia desde su Fundacion en 1728, hasta 1764, 4to. 1765.

Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indas, fol.

4 vols, Mad. 1756.

Relatione d'un Gentilhuomo del Sig. Fern. Cortese della gran Città Temistatan, Mexico, & elle altre cose della Nova Spagna. Exst. Ramus. III. 404.

Remesal [Fr. Ant.] Historia general de las Indias Occidentales y particular de la Governacion de Chiapa y

Guatimala, fol. Mad. 1620.

Ribadeneyra [D. Diego Portichuelo de] Relacion del Viage desde que salio de Lima hasta, que Ilegò a Espagna, 4to. Mad. 1657.

Ribandeneyra y Barrientos [D. Ant. Joach.] Manuel Compendio de el Regio Patronato Indiano, fol. Mad.

755

Ribas [Andr. Perez de] Historia de los Triumphos de Nuestra Sta Fe, entre Gentes las mas Barbaras, en las missiones de Nueva Espagna, fol. Mad 1645.

Riol (D. Santiago) Representation a Philipe V. sobre el estado actual de los Papeles universales de la Monarchia,

MS.

Rocha Pitta (Sebastianò de) Historia da America Portougueza des de o Anno de 1500 de su Descobrimento ate o de 1724, fol. Lisboa, 1730.

Rodriguez (Manuel) Explication de la Bulla de la

fanta Cruzada, 4to. Alcala, 1589.

de los Descubrimentos, Entradas y Reducion de Naciones fol. Mad. 1684.

Roman (Hireon.) Republicas del Mundo, fol. 3 vols.

Mad. 1525.

Roscende (P. Ant. Gonz. de) Vida del Juan de Palasox Arzobispo de Mexico, fol. Mad. 1671.

Ruiz

Ruiz (P. Ant.) Conquista Espiritual hecha por los Religiosos de la Compagnia de Jesus, en las Provincias de la Paraguay Uraguay, Parana y Tape, 4to. Mad. 1639.

to especiate the drewinger of Rio de & Plata, ve. Esito Charcielle

Salazar de Mendoza (D. Pedro) Monarquia de Espagna, tom. i, iii, fol. Mad. 1770.

Salazar y Olarte (D. Ignacio) Histoira de la Conquista

de Mexico-Segunda parte-No place nor year.

Salazar y Zevallos (D. Alonz. Ed. de) Constituciones y Ordenanzas antiguas Agnadidas y Modernas de la Real Universidad y estudio general de San Marcos de la Ciudad le los Reyes del Peru, fol. En la Ciudad de los Reyes,

Sanchez (Ant. Ribero) Differtation fur l'Origine de la Maladie Venerienne, dans laquelle un prouve qu'elle n'a point été portée de l'Amerique, 12mo. Paris, 1765.

Sarmiento de Gamboa (Pedro de) Viage al Estrecho de

Magellanes, 4to. Mad. 1761.

Santa Cruz (El Marques) Comercio Suelto y en Com-

panais General, 12mo. Mad. 1732.

Schemidel (Hulderico) Historia y Descubrimiento del Rio de la Plata y Paraguay. Exft. Barcia Hist. Prim. tom. iii.

Sebara da Sylva (Jos. de) Recueil Chronologique & Analytique de tout ce qu'a fait en Portugal la Societe dite de Jesus, depuis son entrée dans ce Royaume en 1540 jusqu'a son Expulsion en 1759, 12mo. 3 vols. Lib. 1769.

Sepulveda (Genefius) Dialogus de jultis belli caufis præ-

fertim in Indos Novi Orbis. MS.

Sexyas y Lovero (D. Fr.) Theatro Naval Hydrogra-hico, 4to. 1648.

Descripcion Geographica y Derrotero de la Region Auftral Magellanica, 4to. Mad. 1690.

Simon (Pedro) Noticias Historiales de las Conquistas de Tierra Firme en las Indias Occidentales, fol. Cuença, 1627. Solis (D. Ant. de) Historia de las Conquistas de Mexico, fol. Mad. 1684.

-History of the Conquest of Mexico .- Translated

by Townsend, fol. 1724.

Solorzano Pereirra (Joan.) Politica Indiana.

- De Indiarum jure five de justa Indiarum Occidentalium Gubernatione, fol. 2 vols. Lugd. 1672.

- De Indiarum Jure, Matriti, 2 vols. fol. 1620.

Suarez de Figueroa (Christov.) Hechos de D. Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza 4to. Mad. 1613.

Tarragones

T

Tarragones (Hieron. Gir.) Dos Libros de Cosmogra-

phia, 4to. Milan, 1556.

Techo (F. Nichol. de) The History of the Provinces of Paraguay, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata, &c. Exst. Churchill's Coll. VI. 3.

Torquemada (Juan de) Monarquia Indiana, fol. 3 vols.

Mad. 1723.

Torres (Sim. Per. de) Viage del Mundo. Exft. Barcia

Hift. Prim. III.

——— (Franc. Caro de) Historia de las Ordenes Militares de Santiago, Calatrava y Alcantara, desde su Fundacion hasta el Rey D. Felipe II. Administador perpetuo destas, fol. Mad. 1629.

Torribio (P. F. Jos.) Aparato para la Historia Natural

Espagna la fol. Mad. 1754.

parte Geografica de las Islas Philipinas, 12mo. Mad. 1753.

U

Ulloa (D. Ant. de) Voyage Historique de l'Amerique

Meridionale, 4to. 2 tom. Paris, 1752.

——— Noticias Americanas, Entretenimentos Physicos-Historicos, sobre la America Meridional y la Septentrional Oriental, 4to. Mad. 1772.

————— (Franc.) Navigatione per scoprire l'Isole delle Speciere sino al Mare detto Vermejo nel 1539. Exst. Ramus. III. 339.

——— (D. Bernado) Retablissement des Manufactures

& du Commerce d'Espagne, 12mo. Amst. 1753.

Utariz (D. Geron.) Theoria y Practica de Commercio

& de Marina, fol. Mad. 1757.

Maratime Affairs, 8vo. 2 vols. Lond. 1751.

V

Venegas (Miguel) A Natural and Civil History of Ca-

lifornia, 8vo. 2 vols. Lond. 1759.

Varages (D. Thom. Tamaio de) Restauracion de la Ciudad del Salavador y Baia de Todos Sanctos en la Provincia del Brafil, 4to. Mad. 1628.

Vargas Machuca (D. Bern. de) Milicia y Descripcion

de las Indias, 4to. Mad. 1699.

Vega (L'Ynca Garcilasso de la) Histoire des Guerres Civiles des Espagnoles dans les Indes, par Boudouin, 4to. t.m. Paris, 1648.

Vega

Vega (Garcilassode la) Histoire de la Conquete de la Floride. Traduite, par Richelet, 12mo. 2 tom. Leyd. 1731. - Royal Commentaries of Peru, by Rycaut, fol. Lond. 1688.

Veitia Linage (Jos.) The Spanish Rule of Trade to the West Indies, 8vo. Lond. 1702.

- Norte de la Contratacion de las Indias Occidentales, fol. Sevill. 1672.

Verazzano (Giov.) Relatione delle Terra per lui Scoperta nel 1524. Exft. Ramusio III. p. 420.

Viage de Espagna, 12mo. 6 tom. Mad. 1776.

Victoria (Fran.) Relationes Theologicæ de Indis & de jure belli contra eos, 4to. Mad. 1765.

Viera y Clavijo (D. Jos) Noticias de la Historia general de las Islas de Canaria, 4to. 2 tom. Mad. 1772.

Villagra (Gasp. de) Historia de Nuevo Mexico Poema,

12mo. Alcala, 1610.

Villa Segnor y Sanchez (D. Jos. Ant.) Theatro Americano. Description general de los Reynos y Provincias de la Nueva Espagna, fol. 2 tom. Mex. 1746.

X

Xerez (Franc. de) Verdadera Relacion de la Conquista del Peru y Provincia de Cuzco, Embiada al Emperador Carlos V. Exft. Barcia Hist. Prim. tom. III.

-Relatione, &c. &c. Exft. Ramufio III. 372.

Zarate (Aug. de) Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista de la Provincia del Peru. Exft. Barcia Hift. Prim. tom. III. - Histoire de la Decouverte & de la Conquete du

Perou, 12mo. 2 tom. Paris, 1742.

Zavala y Augnon (D. Miguel. de) Representacion al Rey N. Segnor D. Philipe V. dirigida al mas seguro Aumento del Real Erario. No place, 1732.

Zevallos (D. Pedro Ordognez de) Historia y Viage del Mundo, 4to. Mad. 1691.

50 E

--- Royal Commentation of Pearl, by Rycout, tel. .883 I .fama. I vertan Litating for Mile Spanish Rele of Trade to the

With indies-the Londer rose of menter --- Norte de Li Contraction de les Indies Occiden-

Pergramate visit of the engine Pit Still Still profes Verazzeno (Glov.) Relatione delle Terra percini Sen-

vertainel 1924al-Wid. Kamuto Idl. marco. 1. v. off. Victoria (France) Relations Theological de ladis & de Semilaroft bulb tota you street lied out Viera vi Clavilo (Dal Jor / Noridias de la Hiltoria geneed de las lifter de Canapier (th. 2 tour Mide 1972) Vitingang Galin, de lei littoral, de attanto Mexico Poema,

Villas Bay non regardence (ID. Journann) Therein Amede la Nacya Espagna, fel. 4 to

MAR de la Conquita Terrary Provinces of Custos, Embada al Linguistor TIE omme a Late of the problem. 4

Zarate (Aug. 41) Theorie del Defentamenter Conquilla All the country and the light of the total total till. recover Hillions de la Deconverte de de de la Conquete da

Car Chara Taire Wants and tricinal Local Zavola y Angres (13) Menal, de) Reperfectioned for the National Architecture V. Hought at past legues An-

Severios, (D. Petro Ordegicanii) Andoria y Viage del Venezacial part a Korrea Pere desta ou chante

Z 3 d Vsi

INDEX.

N. B. The Roman Numerals refer to the Volume, and the Figures to the Page.

A

ABYSSINIA, an embaffy fent to that country by John II. King of Portugal, i. 55.

Acapules, the nature of the trade carried on from thence to Manila, iii. 281. Amount of the treasure on board the ship, taken by Lord Anson, 341.

Acola, his method of accounting for the different degrees of heat, in the old and new continents, ii. 323.

Adair, his account of the revengeful temper of the native Americans, ii. 351.

Adanson, his justification of Hanno's account of the African seas, i. 251.

Africa, the western coast of, first explored by order of John I. King of Portugal, i. 40. Is discovered from Cape Non, to Bojador, 42. Cape Bojador doubled, 46. The countries southward of the River Senegal discovered, 52. Cape of Good Hope seen by Bartholomew Diaz, 55. Causes of the extreme heat of the climate there, ii. 8. Ignorance of the ancient astronomers concerning, i. 251.

Agriculture, the state of, among the native Americans, ii. 82. Two principal causes of the defects of, 86.

Aguada, is sent to Hispaniola, as a commissioner to inspect the conduct of Columbus, i. 130.

Aguilar, Jerom de, is relieved from a long captivity among the Indians at Cozumel, by Fernando Cortes, ii. 182. Albuquerque, Rodrigo, his barbarous treatment of the Indians of Hispaniola, i. 214.

Alcavala, in the Spanish customs, the term explained, iii. 343.

Alexander the Great, his political character, i. 14. His motive in founding the city of Alexandria, 15. His difcoveries in India, 16.

Alexander, VI. Pope, grants to Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile, the right of all their western discoveries, i. 113. Sends missionaries with Columbus on his second voyage, 114.

Almagro, Diego de, his birth and character, iii. 3. Affociates with Pizarro and de Luque, in a voyage of difcovery, 4. His unsuccessful attempts, 5. Is neglected by Pizarro in his Spanish negociation, 13. Is reconciled to him, 14. Brings reinforcements to Pizarro at Peru, 32. Beginning of dissensions between him and Pizarro, 46. Invades Chili, 49. Is created governor of Chili, and marches to Cufco, 53. Seizes Cusco out of the hands of Pizarro, 55. Defeats Alvarado, and takes him prisoner, ibid. Is deceived by the artful negociations of Francis Pizarro, 57. Is defeated by the Pizarros, 60. Is taken prisoner, 61. Is tried and condemned, 62. Is put to death, 63.

Almagro, the son, affords refuge to his father's followers at Lima, iii. 71. His character, ibid. Heads a conspiracy against Francis Pizarro, 72. Pizarro assassinated, 73. Is acknowledged as

his fuccessor, 74. His precarious stuation, 75. Is defeated by Vaca de Cattro, 77. Is betrayed and executed, 78.

Almajorifalgo, in the Spanish American customs, the amount of, iii. 344.
Alvarado, Alonzo, is fent from Lima, by

Francis Pizarro, with a body of Spaniards to relieve his brothers at Cusco, iii. 56. Is taken prisoner by Alma-

gro, 56. His escape, 57.
Alvarado, Pedro de, is lest by Cortes to command at Mexico, whilehe marched against Narvaez, ii. 250. He is befieged by the Mexicans, 256. His His expeimprudent conduct, 257. dition to Quito in Peru, iii. 43.

Amazons, a community of, faid to exist in South America, by Francis Orel-

lana, iii. 69.

America, the continent of, discovered by Christopher Columbus, i. 138. How it obtained this name, 149. Ferdinand of Castile, nominates two governments in, 192. The propositions offered to the natives, ibid. Ill reception of Ojeda and Nicuessa among them, 193. The South Sea discovered by Balboa, 204. Riode Plata discovered, 213. The natives of, injuriously treated by the Spaniards, 233. The vast extent of, ii. 2. The grand objects it presented to view, 3. The circumstances of, savourable fot commerce and civilization, 4. The climates of, 6. Various causes of the peculiarity of its climates, 7. Its rude and uncultivated state when first difcovered, 11. Its animals, 13. Its infects and reptiles, 15. Birds, 16. General account of its foil, 17. Inquiry into the first population of, 18. Could not be peopled by civilized nations, 24. The northern extremity of, contiguous to Afia, 27. Probably peo-pled by Afiatics, 34. Condition and character of the native inhabitants inquired into, 35. Were more rude than the natives of any c-Were more ther known parts of the earth, 36. The Peruvians and Mexicans excepted, 37. The first discoverers incapable of a judicious speculative examination, 39. The various fystems of philosophers respecting the natives, 40. Method observed in the present review of their bodily constitution and cir-

The venereal difcumstances, 42. ease derived from this part of the world, 61. Why so thinly inhabited, 91. The country depopulated by continual wars, 120. Cause of the extreme coldness toward the fouthern ex-tremity of, 326. The natural uncultivated state of the country described, 327. Bones of large extinct species of animals discovered under ground near the banks of the Ohio, 328. Why European animals degenerate there, 330. Supposed to have undergone a convultive separation from Alia, 334. Causes of the depopulation of, traced, iii. 200. This depopulation not the refult of any intentional system of policy, 202. Nor the refult of religion, 204. Number of Indian natives still remaining in Mexico and Peru, 205. All the Spanish dominions there, subjected to two viceroys, 208. Its third viceroyalty lately elfablished, 209. See Mexico, Peru, Cor-

tes, Pizarro, &c.

Americans, native, in Spanish America, their bedily constitution and complexion, ii. 43. Their strength and abilities, 44. Their insensibility with regard to their women, 46. No deformities in their frame, 50. This circumstance accounted for, 51. Uniforrace of, described, 55. The Esquimaux, 56. Patagonians, 57. The existence of Patagonian giants yet remaining to be decided, 59. Their diseases, 60. The venereal disease, peculiarly theirs, 61. The powers and qualities of their minds, 62. Are only folicitous to fupply immediate wants, 64. The art of computation, scarcely known to them. ibid. Have no abstract ideas, 66. The North Americans much more intelligent than those of the fouth, 67. aversion to labour, 69. Their social state, 71. Domestic union, ibid. The women, 72. Their women not pro-lific, 75. Their parental affection and filial duty, 76. Their modes of sub-fiftence, 78. Fishing, 79. Hunting, 80. Agriculture, 82. The various objects of their culture, 83. Two principal causes of the defects of their ag iculture, 86. Their want of tame animals, ibid. Their want

of useful metals, 88. Their political institutions, 90. Were divided tical institutions, 90. into fmall independent communities, ibid. Unacquainted with the idea of property, 91. Their high fense of equality and independence, 92. Their ideas of subordination imperfect, 94. To what tribes these descriptions apply, 95. Some exceptions, 97. Florida, ibid. The Natchez, 98. The islands, 99. In Bogota, ibid. Inquiry into the causes of these irregularities, 100. Their art of war, 103. Their motives to hostility, 104. Causes of their ferocity, 105. Perpetuity of their animolities, 106. Their modes of conducting war, 107. Are not destitute of courage and fortitude, 109. Incapable of military discipline, 110. Their treatment of prisoners, 111. Their fortitude under torture, 113. Never eat human flesh but to gratify revenge, 115. How the South Americans treated their prisoners, 116. Their military education, 1 17. Strange method of chusing a captain, among the Indians on the banks of the Orinoco, ibid. Their numbers wasted by continual wars, 120. Their tribes now recruit their numbers by adopting prisoners, 121. Are never formidable in war, to more polished nations, 122. Their arts, dress, and ornaments, 123. Their habitations, 126. Their arms, 128. Their domestic utenfils, 129. Construction of their canoes, 130. The littleffness with which they apply to labour, 131. Their religion, 132. Some tribes altogether destitute of any, 135. Remarkable diversity in their religious notions, 138. Their ideas of the immortality of the foul, 141. Their modes of burial, 142. Why Their modes of burial, 142. their physicians pretend to be conjurors, 144. Their love of dancing, 147. Their immoderate passion for gaming, 149. Are extremely addicted to drunkenness, 150. Put their aged and incurable to death, 154. General estimate of their character, Their intellectual powers, 156. Their political talents, 157. Powers of affection, 158. Hardness of heart, 159. Their inlen fibility, 160. Taciturnity, 161. Their cunning, 162. Their virtues, 163. Their spirit of inde-

pendence, 164. Fortitude, ibid. Attachment to their community, 165. Their fatisfaction with their own condition, ibid. General caution with respect to this inquiry, 168. Two diffinguishable classes of, 169. Exceptions as to their character, 171. Their characteriftic features described, 334. Inflances of their perfevering speed, 335. An antipathy industriously encouraged between them and the negroes in America, by the Spaniards, iii. 223. Their present condition, 224. How taxed, 225. Stated fervices demanded from them, 226. Mode of exacting thefe fervices, 227. How governed, ibid. Protector of the Indians, his function, 228. Reafons why fo small a progress is made in their conversion, 237.

Amerigo Vespucci, publishes the first written account of the New World, and hence gave name to America, i. 149. His claim as a discoverer examined, 268.

Anacoana, a female cazique of Hispaniola, her bale and cruel ulage by the Spa-

niards, i. 180.

Andes, stupendous height and extent of that range of mountains, ii. 3. Their height compared with other mountains, 321. Gonzalo Pizarro's re-markable expedition over, iii. 67.

Animals large, very few found in America

at its first discovery, ii. 13.

Antients, cause of the imperfection of the art of navigation among them i. 4. Their geographical knowledge extremely confined, 22, 251, 252, 254. Arabians, pecuriarly attached to the study of geography, i. 27.

Argonauts, the expedition of, why fo fa-

mous among the Greeks, i. 12. Arithmetic, or computation, the art of. hardly known to the native Americans, ii. 64.

Ascolino, father, his extraordinary mission to the prince of the Tartars, i. 32.

Afratic di coveries made by the Ruffians. ii. 27.

Affiento trade, the nature of, explained, iii. 262. The frauds in, and how

put an end to, 263, 336. Atabualpa, is lest by his father Huascar his fuccessor in the kingdom of Quito, iii. 21. Defeats his brother Hualcar, and usurps the empire of Perv, ib. Sends

presents to Pizarro, 24. Visits Pizarro, 27. Is perfidiously seized by him, 30. Agrees with Pizarro on a ranform, 31. Is refused his liberty, 34. His behaviour during his confinement, 37. A form of trial bestowed on him, 38. Is put to death, 39. Comparison of authorities relating to his transactions with,

and treatment by Pizarro, 296.

Audience of New Spain, board of, established by the Emperor Charles V. ii. 315. Courts of, their jurisdiction, iii.

Averia, a Spanish tax for convoy to and from America, when first imposed, iii. 342. Its rate, 343.

Azores, those islands discovered by the Portuguele, i. 50.

Balboa, Vasco Nugnez de, settles a colony at Santa Maria on the gulph of Darien, i. 194. Receives intelligence of the rich country of Peru, 200. His character, 202. Marches across the ifthmus, 203. Discovers the Southern Ocean, 204. Returns, 205. Is superfeded in his command by the appointment of Pedrarias Davila, 207. Is fined by Pedrarias for former transactions, 208. Is appointed lieutenant governor of the countries on the South Sea, and marries Pedrarias's daughter, 210. Is arrested and put to death by Pedrarias, 211.

Bark, Jesuits, a production peculiar to Peru, iii. 247.

Barrere, his description of the construction of Indian houses, ii. 358.

Bebring and Tschirikow, Russian navigators, thought to have discovered the north west extremity of America from the eastward, ii. 29. Uncer-

Benalcazar, governor of St. Michael, reduces the kingdom of Quito, iii. 44. Is deprived of his command by Pizar-

ro, 67.

Benjamin the Jew of Tudela, his extraordinray travels, i. 31.

Bernaldes, instance of the bravery of the Caribbees, mentioned by him, ii. 364.

Betbencourt, John de, a Norman baron, conquers and possesses the Canary Islands, i. 38.

Birds, an account of those natural to America, ii. 16. The flight of, often stretch to an immense distance from land, i. 258.

C

C

Bogota in America, some account of the inhabitants of, ii. 99. Causes of their tame submiffion to the Spaniards, 102. Their religious doctrines and rites, 140.

Bojador cape, the first discovery of, i. 42. Is doubled by the Portuguese disco-

veries, 46.

Boffu, his account of the American war-

song, ii. 354.
Bovadilla, Francis de, is sent to Hispaniola to inquire into the conduct of Columbus, i. 154. Sends Columbus home in irons, 155. Is degraded, 158, 161.

Bougainville, his defence of the Periplus

of Hanno, i. 250.

Bourger, M. his character of the native

Peruvians, ii. 340. Brafil, the coast of, discovered by Alvarez Cabral, i. 151. Remarks on the climate of, ii. 325.

Bridges, Peruvian, described. iii. 317. Buenos Ayres, in South America, some account of that province, iii. 190.

Bulls, papal, of no force in Spanish America, before examined and approved by the royal council of the Indies, iii. 231. See Cruzado.

Burial of the dead, American mode of,

ii. 142.

C

Cabrai, Alvarez, a Portuguese commander, discovers the coast of Brasil, 1. 151.

Cacoa, the best in quality, produced in the Spanish American colonies, iii. The preparation of chocolate 247. from, derived from the Mexicans,

Cadiz, the galeons and flota, removed thither from Seville, iii. 255.

California, the peninfula of, discovered by Fernando Cortes, ii. 316. The true state of this country long un-known, iii. 183. Why depreciated by the Jesuits, 184. Favourable account of, given by Don Joseph Galvez, ibid.

Californians, the character of, by P. Ve-

negas, ii. 342.

Campeachy, discovered by Cordova, who is repulsed by the natives, i. 239. Campomanes,

Campomanes, Don Pedro Rodriguez, character of his political and commercial writings, iii. 341. His account of the produce of the Spanish American

mines, 346.
Canary illands erected into a kingdom by pope Clement VI. i. 37. Are conquered by John de Bethencourt, 38.

Cannibals, no people ever found to eat human flesh for sublistence, though often for revenge, ii. 115. 354.

Cances, American, the construction of,

described, ii. 130. Caraceas, establishment of the company

trading to that coaft, iii. 267. Growth of the trade, 337. Caribbee islands, discovered by Columbus

in his fecond voyage, i. 114.

Caribbees, their spirit peculiarly fierce, ii. 171. Their character by M. de Chanvalon, 341. Probable conjecture as to the diftinction in character bet ween them and the natives of the larger iflands, 365.

Carpini, his extraordinary mission to the prince of the Tartars, i. 32.

Carthagena, the harbour of, the fafest and best fortified of any in all the Spanish American dominions, iii. 193.

Carthaginiaus, state of commerce and navigation among, i. 8. The famous voyages of Hanno and Himil-

Carvajal, Francisco de, contributes to Vaca de Castro's victory over young Almagro, iii. 78. Encourages Gonzalo Pizzaro to assume the government of Peru, 92. Advises Pizzaro to af-fume the sovereignty of the country, 97. Is feized by Gasca and executed,

Castillo, Bernal Diaz del, character of his Hiftoria Verdadero de la Conquista de la Nueva Espagna, ii. 367.

Centeno, Diego, revolts from Gonzalo Pizarro to the viceroy of Peru, iii. 94. Is defeated by Carjaval, and secrets himself in a cave, 96. Sallies out and seizes Cuzco, 107. Is reduced by Pi-zarro, 108. Is employed by Gasca to make discoveries in the regions about the river Plata, 116. Chanvalon, M. de, his character of the

native Caribbees, ii. 341. Chapetones, in the Spanish American colonies, who thus distinguished, iii. 220. Charles III. king of Spain, establishes

Vol. III.

packet-boats between Spain and the colonies, iii. 269. Allows free trade to the windward islands, 270. Grants the colonies a free trade with each

other, 272. Charles V. emperor, fends Roderigo de Figueroa to Hispaniola, as chief judge, to regulate the treatment of the Indians, i. 225. Causes this subject to be debated before him, 230. Equips a squadron at the solicitation of Ferdinand Magellan, ii. 301. Refigns his claim on the Moluccas to the Portuguese, 305. Appoints Cortes go-vernor of New Spain, 307. Rewards him on coming home, 314. Establishes a board called the Audience of New Spain, 315. His consultations on American affairs, iii. 79. Establishes new regulations, 83.

Chili, is invaded by Almagro, iii. 49. How subjected by the Spaniards, 186. Excellence of its climate and foil, 187. Cause of its being neglected, 188. Prospect of its improvement, 189.

Chiquitas, political state of that people,

from Fernandez, ii. 350. Chocolate, the use of, derived from the Mexicans, iii. 266.

Cholula, in Mexico, arrival of Cortes there, with some account of the town, H. 218. A conspiracy against Cortes discovered, and the inhabitants deftroyed, 220.

Cicero, instance of his ignorance in geo-

graphy, i. 254.

Cinalea, political state of the people there, ii. 350. Their mode of living, 357. Are destitute of all religion, 361. Extraordinary large grain of gold found there, iii. 318.

Cineguilla, in the province of Sonora, late discoveries of rich mines made there by the Spaniards, iii. 182. Probable effects of those discoveries, 183.

Clement VI. pope, erects the Canary if-lands into a kingdom, i. 37. Climates, influenced by a variety of causes, ii. 6. Their operation on mankind,

168. Inquiry into the cause of the different degrees of heat in, 323. Cochineal, an important production, al-

most peculiar to New Spain, iii. 247. Cold, extraordinary predominance of, in the climates of America, ii. 6. Caules of this peculiarity, 7.

Colonies,

Colonies, Spanish American, view of the policy and trade of, iii. 199. Depopulation the first effect of them, ibid. Causes of this depopulation, 200. The small-pox very fatal to, 202. General idea of the Spanish policy in, 206. Early interpolition of the regal authority in, 207. An exclusive trade the first object in, 214. Compared with those of antient Greece and Rome, 215. The great restrictions they are subject to, 216. Slow progress of their population from Europe, 217. Are discouraged by the state of property there, ibid. And by the nature of their ecclesiastical policy, 219. The various classes of people in, 220. Ecclefiaftical conflitution of, 230. Form and endowments of the church there, 231. Pernicious effects of monastic institutions there, 232. Character of the ecclesiastics there, 233. Productions of, 241. The mines, ibid. Those of Potosi and Sacotecas, 242. The Spirit with which they are worked, 244. Fatal effects of this ardour, 245. ther commodities that compose the commerce of, 247. Amazing increase of horned cattle there, 248. Advantages which Spain formerly derived from them, ibid. Why the same advantages are not still received, 250. Guarda costas employed to check the contraband trade in, 263. The use of register ships introduced, 264. And galeons laid aside, 265. Company of the Caraccas instituted, 267. Establishment of regular packet-boats to, 269. Free trade permitted between them, 272. New regulations in the government of, 274. Reformation of the courts of justice, ibid. New distribution of governments, ibid. A fourth viceroyalty established, 275. Attempts to reform domestic policy, 277. Their trade with the Philippine islands, 280. Revenue derived from, by Spain, 283. Expence of admini-firation there, 286. State of popula-lation in, 322. The number of lation in, 322. The number of monasteries there, 331. See Mexico, Peru, &cc.

Columbus, Bartholomew, is fent by his brother Christopher to negociate with Henry VII. king of England, i. 70. The misfortunes of his voyage, 73. Follows his brother to Hispaniola, 123. Is vested with the administration of

affairs there by his brother on his return to Spain, 131. Founds the town of St. Domingo, 139.

Columbus, Christopher, birth and educatition of, i. 59. His early voyages, 60. Marries and fettles at Lisbon, 61. His geographical reflections, 63. Conceives the idea of making discoveries to the westward, 65. Offers his services to the Genoese senate, 67. Cause of his overtures being rejected in Portu-Applies to the courts of gal, 69. Castile and England, ibid. His propofal, how treated by the Spanish geographers, 71. Is patronised by Juan Perez, 74. His proposals again re-jected, 75. Is invited by Isabella, and engaged in the Spanish service, 79. Preparations for his voyage, 80. The amount of his equipment, 81. Sails from Spain, 82. His vigilant attention to all circumstances during his voyage, 84. Apprehensions of his crew, 85. His address in quieting their cabals, 87. Indications of their approaching land, 89. An island discovered, 90. He lands, 91. His interview with the natives, 92. Names the island San Salvadore, 93. Profecutes his discoveries southward, 94. Discovers, and lands, on the island of Cuba, 95. Discovers Hispaniola, 96. Suffers shipwreck, but is saved by the Indians, 99. Builds a fort, 102., Returns to Europe, 104. His expedient to preserve the memory of his discoveries during a fform, 106. Arrives at the Azores, ibid. Arrives at Lisbon, 107. His reception in Spain, 108. His audience with Ferdinand and Isabella, 109. His equipment for a second voyage, 112. Discovers the Caribbee islands, 114. Finds his colony on Hispaniela destroyed, 115. Builds a city, which he calls Isabella, 117. Visits the interior parts of the country, 119. His men discontented and factious, 120. Discovers the island of Jamaica, 122. Meets his brother Bartholomew at Isabella, 123. The natives ill used by his men, and begin to be alarmed, 124. He defeats the Indians, 127. Exacts tribute from them, 128. Returns to Spain to justify his conduct, 131. Is furnished with a more regular plan for colonization, 133. His third voyage, 136. Discovers the ifland of Trinidad, 137. Discovers the continent

tinent of America, 138. State of Hifpaniola on his arrival, 139. Compoles the mutiny of Roldan and his adherents, 142. Is distressed by the factious behaviour of his men, 152. Complaints carried to Spain against him, 153. Is fent home in irons, 155. Clears his conduct, but is not restored to his authority, 157. His folicitations neglected, 161. Forms new schemes of discovery, 162. Engages in a fourth voyage, 164. His treat-ment at Hispaniola, ibid. Searches after a passage to the Indian o-cean, 166. Is shipwrecked on the coast of Jamaica, 167. His artifice to se-cure the friendship of the Indians, 170. Is delivered, and arrives at Hifpaniola, 173. Returns to Spain, 174. His death, 175. His right to the original discovery of America defended, 261.

Columbus, Don Diego, fues out his claims to his father's privileges, i. 188. Marries and goes over to Hispaniola, 189. Establishes a pearl fishery at Cubagua, 190. Projects the conquest of Cuba, 196. His measures thwarted by Ferdinand, 213. Returns to Spain, 214.

Commerce, the æra from which its commencement is to be dated, i. 2. Motives to an intercourse amongst distant nations, 4. Still flourished in the eastern empire after the subversion of the western, 26. Revival of, in Europe, 28.

Compass, mariner's, navigation extended more by the invention of, than by all the efforts of preceding ages, i. 35. By whom invented, 36.

Condamine, M. his account of the country at the foot of the Andes, in South America, ii. 327. His remarks on the character of the native Americans,

Congo, the kingdom of, discovered by the Portuguese, i. 52.

Conflantinople, the confequence of removing the feat of the Roman empire to, i. 24. Continued a commercial city after the extinction of the western empire, 26. Became the chief mart of

Italy, 28.

Cordova, Francisco Hernandiz, discovers Yucatan, i. 238. Is repulsed at Campeachy, and returns to Cuba, 239. ita, Alonzo, his observations on the contraband trade of the Spanish colo-

nies, iii. 279. Character of his American memoirs, 202

rican memoirs, 303.
Cortes, Fernando, his birth, education, and character, ii. 175. Is by Velafquez appointed commander of the armament fitted out by him against New Spain, 176. Velasquez becomes jealous of him, 178. Velasquez sends orders to deprive him of his commiffion, and lay him under arrest, 179. Is protected by his troops, 180. The amount of his forces, 181. Reduces the Indians at Tabasco, 183. Arrives at St. Juan de Ulua, ibid. His interview with two Mexican commanders, 185. Sends presents to Montezuma, 187. Receives others in return, 188. His schemes, 193. Establishes a form of civil government, 196. Refigns his commission under Velasquez, and assumes the command in the king's name, 199. His friendship courted by the Zempollans, 200. Builds a fort, 202. Concludes a formal alliance with several caziques, ibid. Discovers a conspiracy among his men, and destroys his thips, 205. Advances into the country, 207. Is opposed by the Tlafcalans, 209. Concludes a peace with them, 214. His rash zeal, 216. Pro-ceeds to Cholula, 218. Discovers a conspiracy against him here, and destroys the inhabitants, 220. Approaches in fight of the capital city of Mexico, 222. His first interview with Montezuma, 223. His anxiety at his fituation in the city of Mexico, 228. Seizes Montezuma, 232 Orders him to be fettered, 234. Reasons of his conduct, 235. Prevails on Montezuma to own himfelf a vaffal to the Spanish crown, 238. Amount and divifion of his treasure, 239. Enrages the Mexicans by his imprudent zeal, 242. An armament fent by Velasquez to supersede him, 246. His deliberations on this event, 248. Advances to meet Narvaez, 251. Defeats Narvaez and takes him prisoner, 254. Gains over the Spanish foldiers to his interest, 255. Returns to Mexico, 257. His improper conduct on his arrival, 258. Is refolutely attacked by the Mexicans, 259. Attacks them in turn without fuccels, 260. Death of Montezuma, 262. His extraordinary elcape from death, 263. Abandons the city of Mexico, 264. Is attacked by the Mexicans, 265. His lottes

losses in the encounter, 266. Difficulties of his retreat, 267. Battle of Otumba, 269. Defeats the Mexicans, 270. Mutinous spirit of his troops, 273. Reduces the Tepea-cans, 274. Is strengthened by several reinforcements, 276. Returns to Mexico, 277. Establishes his head-quarters at Tezuco, 279. Reduces or conciliates the furrounding country, 280. Cabals among his troops, 281. His prudence in suppressing them, 282. Builds and launches a fleet of brigantines on the lake, 285. Besieges Mexico, 287. Makes a grand affault to take the city by ftorm, but is repulsed, 290. Evades the Mexican prophecy, 293. Takes Guati-mozin prisoner, 296. Gains possesfion of the city, ibid. And of the whole empire, 299. Defeats another attempt to superfede him in his command, 306. Is appointed governor of New Spain, 307. His schemes and arrangements, 308. Cruel treatment of the natives, 309. His conduct subjected to inquiry, 312. Returns to Spain to justify himself, 313. Is rewarded by the emperor Charles V. 314. Goes back to Mexico with limited powers, 315. Dif-covers California, 316. Returns to Spain, and dies, ibid. Inquiry into the nature of his letters to the emperor Charles V. 366. Authors who wrote of his conquest of New Spain, 367. Council of the Indies, its power, iii. 212.

Creoles, in the Spanish American colonies,

character of, iii. 221.

Croglan, colonel George, his account of the discovery of the bones of large extinct species of animals in North America, ii. 328.

Crusades to the Holy Land, the great political advantages derived from, by the European nations, i. 30.

Crusado, bulls of, published regularly every two years in the Spanish colonies, iii. 284. Prices of, and amount of the fale at the last publication, 342.

Cuba, the Island of, discovered by Christopher Columbus, i. 95. Is failed round by Ocampo, 188. The conquest of, undetraken by Diego Velasquez, 96. Cruel treatment of the cazique Hatuey, and his, repartee to a friar, 197. Columbus's enthusiaftic description of a harbour in,

259. The tobacco produced there, the finest in all America, iii. 247. Cubagua, a pearl fishery established there,

1. 190.

Cumana, the natives of, revenge their ill treatment by the Spaniards, i. 233. The country desolated by Die-

go Ocampo, 235.

Cufco, the capital of the Peruvian empire, founded by Manco Capac, iii. 18. Is feized by Pizarro, 42. Is befieged by the Peruvians, 52. Is furprifed by Almagro, 55. Is recovered and pillaged by the Pizarros, 61. Was the only city in all Peru, 176.

Dancing, the love of, a favorite passion among the Americans, ii. 147.

Darien, the Istmus of, described, i. 201. The increase of settlement there, obstructed by the noxiousness of the

climate, iii. 192. De Solis, his unfortunate expedition up

the river Plata, i. 212.

De Solis, Antonio, character of his Hiftoria de la Conquista de Mexico, ii.

368.

D'Esquilache, prince, viceroy of Peru, his vigorous measures for restraining the excesses of the regular clergy there, iii. 236. Rendered ineffectual, 237.
Diaz, Bartholomew, discovers the Cape

of Good Hope, i. 55.
Discoveries, the difference between those made by land, and those by sea, ftated, ii. 253

Dodwell, his objection to the Per riplus of Hanno exploded, ii. 249.

Domingo, St. on the island of Hispaniola, founded by Bartholomew Columbus, i. 139.

Dominicans, those in Hispaniola, publickly remonstrate against the cruel treatment of the Indians, i. 215.

See Las Cafas.

Drunkenness, strong propensity of the Americans to indulge in, ii, 150.

Earth, the globe of, how divided into zones by the antients, i. 22. Egyptians, antient, state of commerce and navigation among them, i. 5.

El Dorado, wonderful reports of a country so called, made by Francis Orellana, iii. 69.

Elephant, that animal peculiar to the torrid zone, ii. 329.

Esquimaux Indians, resemblances between them and their neighbours the Greenlanders, ii. 32. Some account of

Eugene IV. pope, grants to the Portuguele an exclusive right to all the countries they should discover, from Cape Non to the continent of India,

Europe, how affected by the difmemberment of the Roman empire by the barbarous nations, i. 25. Revival of commerce and navigation in, 28. Political advantages derived from the crusades, 30.

F.

Ferdinand, king of Castile. See Columbus and Isabella. Turns his attention at length to the regulation of American affairs, i. 184. Don Diego de Columbus sues out his father's claims against him, 118. Erects two governments on the continent of America, 192. Sends a fleet to Darien, and supersedes Balboa, 207. Appoints Balboa lieutenant-governor of the countries on the South Sea, 210. Sends Dias de Solis to discover a western passage to the Moluccas, 212. Thwarts the measures of Diego Columbus, 213. His decree concerning the treatment of the Indians, 216.

Fernandez, Don Diego, character of his Historia del Peru, iii. 292.

Fernandez, P. his description of the political state of the Chiquitos, ii. 350.
Figueroa, Roderigo de, is appointed chief justice of Hispaniola, with a commission to examine into the treatment of the Indian natives, i. 225. Makes an experiment to determine the capacity

of the Indians, 234.

Florida, discovered by Juan Ponce de Leon, i. 197. The chiefs there hereditary, ii. 95. Account of, from Alvar Nugnez Cabeca de Vaca, ii.

Flora, Spanish, some account of, iii. 255.
Fonseea, bishop of Badajos, minister for
Indian affairs, obstructs the plans
of colonization and discovery formed

by Columbus, i. 128. 136. Patronizes the expedition of Alonzo de Ojedo, 148.

G.

Galeon, Spanish, the nature and purpose of these vessels, iii. 255. Arrangement of their voyage, 256.

of their voyage, 256.

Galvez, Don Joseph, sent to discover the true state of California, iii. 184.

Gama, Vasco de, his voyage for discovery, i. 144. Doubles the Cape of Good Hope, 145. Anchors before the city Melinda, ibid. Arrives at Calecut in Malabar, 146.

Gaming, strange propensity of the Americans to, ii. 149.

Ganges, erroneous ideas of the ancients as to the polition of that river, i. 252.

Gasca, Pedro de la sent to Peru as president of the court of Audience in Lima, iii. 100. His character and moderation, 101. The powers he was vested with, 102. Arrives at Pana-Acquires possession of Pama, 103. nama with the fleet and forces there, 105. Advances towards Cuzco, 109. Pizarro's troops desert to him, 110. His moderate use of the victory, 111. Devises employment for his soldiers, 115. His division of the country among his followers, 116. Restores order and government, 117. His reception at his return to Spain, 118. Geminus, instance of his ignorance in

geography, i. 254.
Geography, the knowledge of extremely confined among the ancients, i. 22.
Became a favourite study among the Arabians, 27.

Giants, the accounts of, in our early travellers, unconfirmed by recent discoveries, i. 35. ii. 338.

Gioia, Flavio, the inventor of the mariner's compass, i. 36.

Globe, its division into zone by the ancients, i. 22.

Gold, why the first metal with which man was acquainted, ii. 88. Extraordinary large grain of, found in the mines of Cinaloa, iii. 318.

Gomara, character of his Cronica de la Nueva Espagna, ii. 366.

Good Hope, cape of, discovered by Bartholemew Diaz, i. 55.

Govern-

Government, no visible form of, among the native Americans ii. 94. Excep-

Gran Chaco, account of the method of making war among the natives of,

from Lozano, ii. 352.

Granada, new kingdom of, in America, by whom reduced to the Spanish do-minion, iii. 195. Its climate and produce, 196. A viceroy lately eftablished there, 209.

Greeks, ancient progress of navigation and discovery among them, i. . 11. Their commercial intercourse with other nations very limited, 13.

Greenland, its vicinity to North Ameri-

ca, il. 32.

Grijalva, Juan de, sets out from Cuba on a voyage of discovery, i. 240. Discovers and gives name to New Spain, 241. His reasons for not planting a colony in his newly discovered lands,

Guarda Costas, employed by Spain to check illicit trade in the American

colonies, iii. 263.

Guatimala, the indigo there superior to

any in America, iii. 247.

Guatimozin, nephew and fon-in-law of Montezuma, fucceeds Quetlavaca in the kingdom of Mexico, ii. 279. Repulses the attacks of the Spaniards in forming the city of Mexico, 290. Is taken prisoner by Cortes, 296. Is tortured to discover his treasure, 298. Is hanged, 310.

Guiana, Dutch, cause of the excessive fertility of the foil there, ii. 332.

Hanno, his Periplus defended, with an account of his voyage, i. 249.

Hatuey, a cazique of Cuba, his cruel treatment, and memorable repartee to a Franciscan friar, i. 197.

Hawkefworth's voyages, account of New Holland, and the inhabitants from, ii.

Heat, the different degrees of, in the old and new continents accounted for,

ii. 323. Estimated, 331.

Henry, prince of Portugal, his character and Rudies, i. 42. Expeditions formed by his order, 44. Applies for a

rapal grant of his new discoveries. 48. His death, 50.

Herrada, Juan de, affaffinates Francis Pizarro, iii. 73. Des, 77.

Herrera, the best historian of the conquest of New Spain, ii. 369. His ac-

count of Orrellana's voyage, iii. 301. Hispaniola, the island of, discovered by Christopher Columbus, i. 96. His transactions with the natives, 97. A colony left there by Columbus, 102. The colony destroyed, 115. Columbus builds a city called Isabella, 117. The natives ill-used, and begin to be alarmed, 124. Are defeated by the Spaniards, 127. Tribute exacted from them, 128. They scheme to starve the Spaniards, 129. St. Domingo founded by Bartholomew Columbus, 139. Columbus sent home in irons by Bovadilla, 155. Nicholas de Ovanda appointed governor, 158. Summary view of the conduct of the Spaniards towards the natives of, 179. Unhappy fate of Anacoana, 180. Great produce from the mines there, 182. The inhabi-tants diminish, 158. The Spaniards recruit them by trepanning the natives of the Lucayos, 186. Arrival of Don Diego de Columbus, 189. The natives of, almost extirpated by flavery, 195. 214. Controverly concerning the treatment of them, 215. Columbus's account of the humane treatment he received from the natives of, ii. 259. Curious instance of fuperstition in the Spanish planters there, ii. 330.

Holquin, Pedro Alvarez, erects the royal standard in Peru, in opposition to the younger Almagro, iii. 77. Vaca de Castro arrives and assumes the com-

mand, ibid.

Homer, his account of the navigation of

the ancient Greeks, i. 12.

Honduras, the value of that country, owing to its production of the logwood tree, iii. 185.

Horned cattle, amazing increase of them in Spanish America, iii. 248

Horfes, aftonishment and mistakes of the Mexicans at the first fight of them, ii. 374. Expedient of the Peruvians to render them incapable of action, iii. 300. Huana Capac, Inca of Peru his charac-

e ter and family, iii. 20.

Huafcar

Hisafcur Capac, Inca of Peru, disputes his brother Atahualpa's succession to Quito, iii. 21. Is defeated and taken prisoner by Atahualpa, ibid. Solicits the affistance of Pizarro against his brother, 23. Is put to death by order of Atahualpa, 32.

Ì.

Jamaica, discovered by Christopher Co-

lumbus, i. 122.

Jerome, St. three monks of that order fent by Cardinal Ximenes to Hispaniola, to regulate the treatment of the Indians, i. 220. Their conduct under this commission, 222. Are recalled, 225.

Jesuits, acquire an absolute dominion over California, iii. 183. Their motives for depreciating the country, 184.

Jews, ancient, state of commerce and navigation among them, i. 7.

Incas of Peru, received origin of their empire, iii. 19. 160. Their empire founded both in religion and policy, 161. See Peru.

India, the motives of Alexander the Great in his expedition to, i. 15. The commerce with, how carried on in ancient times, 19. And when arts began to revive in Europe, 28. The first voyage made round the Cape of Good Hope, 145.

Indians in Spanish America. See Ame-

ricans.

Indies, West, why Columbus's discoveries were so named, i. 111.

Innocent IV. pope, his extraordinary mission to the prince of the Tartars, i.; 2.

a quifition, court of, when and by whom, first introduced into Portugal, i. 256. Infects and reptiles, why so numerous

and noxious in America, ii. 15.

John I. king of Portuga!, the first who fent ships to explore the western coasts of Africa, i. 40. His son prince Henry engages in these attempts, 42.

John II. king of Portugal, patronifes all attempts towards discoveries, i. 52. Sends an embassy to Abyffinia, 55. His ungenerous treatment of Columbus, 69.

Iron, the reason why savage nations were unacquainted with this metal,

ii. 88.

Ifabella, queen of Castile, is applied to by Juan Perez in behalf of Christopher Columbus, i. 74. Is again applied to by Quintanilla and Santangel, 77. Is prevailed on to equip him, 78. Dies, 174. Her real motives for encouraging discoveries in America, iii. 203.

ca, iii. 203.

Isabella, the city of, in Hispaniola, built by Christopher Columbus, i. 117.

Italy, the first country in Europe, where civilization and arts revived after the overthrow of the Roman empire, i. 28. The commercial spirit of, active and enterprising, 29.

L.

Ladrone islands, discovered by Ferdinand Magellan, ii. 303.

Lakes, amazing fize of those in North

America, ii. 4.

Las Cafas, Bartholomew, returns from Hispaniola to solicit the cause of the enflaved Indians at the court of Spain, i. 219. Is fent back with powers by cardinal Ximenes, 220. Returns diffatisfied, 223. Procures a new commiffion to be fent over on this subject, 225. Recommends the scheme of supplying the colonies with negroes, 226. Undertakes a new colony, 228. His conference with the bithop of Darien before the emperor Charles V. 230. Goes to America to carry his schemes into execution, 232. Circumstances unfavourable to him, 234. His final miscarriage, 235. Revives his reprefentations in favour of the Indians, at the defire of the emperor, iii. 81. Composes a treatise on the destruction of America, 82.

Leon, Pedro Cieza de, character of his

Chronica del Peru, iii. 292.

Lery, his description of the courage and ferocity of the Toupinambos, ii. 352.

Lima, the city of, in Peru, sounded by

Pizarro, iii. 48.

Logewood, the commodity that gives importance to the provinces of Honduras and Yucatan, iii. 185. Policy of the Spaniards to defeat the English trade in, 186.

Louis, St. king of France, his embaffy to the chan of the Tartars, i. 32.

Lozano, his account of the method of making war among the natives of Gran Chaco, ii. 352.

Luque,

Luque, Hernando de, a priest, associates with Pizarro in his Peruvian expedition, iii. 4.

M

Madeira, the island of, first discoverd,

Madec, prince of North Wales, ftory of his voyage and discovery of North America examined, i. 263.

Magellan, Perdinand, his account of the gigantic fize of the Patagonians, ii. 57. The existence of this gigantic race yet to be decided, 59. 337. His introduction to the court of Castile, 300. Is equipped with a squadron for a voyage of discovery 301. Sails through the samous strait that bears his name, 302. Discovers the Ladrone and Philippine islands, 303. Is killed, ibid.

Magnet, its property of attracting iron known to the ancients, but not its polar inclination, i. 4. Extraordinary advantages resulting from this discove-

ry, 35.

Male, St. account of its commerce with Spanish America, iii, 261.

Manco Capac, founder of the Peruvian empire, account of, iii. 18, 160.

Mandeville, Sir John, his eastern travels, with a character of his writings, i.34. Manila, the colony of, established by Philip II. of Spain, iii. 280. Trade be-

tween, and South America, 281.

Mankind, their disposition and manners formed by their situation, ii. 21.

Hence resemblances to be traced in very distant places without communication, 22. Have uniformly attained the greatest perfection of their nature in temperate regions, 169.

Marco Polo the Venitian, his extraordinary travels in the East, i. 33.

Marest, Gabriel, his account of the country between the Ilionois and Machillimakinac, ii. 348.

Marina, Donna, a Mexican flave, her history, ii. 184.

history, ii. 184.

Marinus Tyrinus, his erroneous position of China, i. 257.

Martyr, Peter, his fentiments on the first discovery of America, i. 266.

Mestizes, in the Spanish American colonies, distinction between them and Mulattoes, iii. 222.

Metals, useful, the original natives of

America, totally unacquainted with ii. 88.

Mexicans, their account of their own origin, compared with latter discoveries, ii. 34. Descriptions of their historical pictures, iii. 308. Various exaggerated accounts of the numbers of human victims facrificed by them, 313. Their language furnished with respectful terminations for all its words, 305. How they contributed to the support of government, 306. Mexico, arrival of Fernando Cortes on

the coast of, ii. 183. His interview with two Mexcian officers, 185. Information fent to Montezuma, with fome Spanish prefents, 187. Montezuma fends prefents to Cortes, with orders not to approach his capital, 188. State of the empire at that time, 189. The Zempoallans court the friendship of Cortes, 200. Several caziques enter into alliance with Cortes, 202. Character of the natives of Tlascala, 208. The Tlascalans reduced to fue for peace, 214. Arrival of . Cortes at the capital city, 223. The city described, 224. Montezuma acknowledges himself a vasfal to the Spanish crewn, 238. Amount of the treasure collected by Cortes, 240. Reasons of gold being found in fuch small quantities, ibid. The Mexicans enraged by the imprudent zeal of Cortes, 242. Attack Alvarado during the absence of Cortes, 256. Their resolute attack on Cortes when he returned, 259. Death of Montezuma, 261. The city abandoned by Cortes, 264. Battle of Otumba, 269. The Tepeacans reduced, 274. Preparations of the Mexicans against the return of Cortes, 277. Cortes besieges the city with a fleet on the lake, 287. The Spaniards repulsed in storming the city, 290. Guatimozin taken prisoner, 296. Cortes appointed gover-nor, 307. His schemes and arrange-ments, 308. Inhuman treatment of the natives, 309. Reception of the new regulations there, iii. 85. A retrospect into the form of government, policy, and arts in, 121. Our information concerning, very imperfect, 124. Origin of the monarchy, Number and greatness of 125. the cities, 129 Mechanical professions there dittinguished from each other, 130. Distinction of ranks, 131. Politi-

cal institutions, 133. Power and fplendor of their monarchs, 136. Or-der of government, ibid. Provision for the support of it, 137. Police of ibid. Their arts, 138. Their paintings, 140. Their method of computing time, 144. Their wars conti-nual and ferocious, ibid. Their funeral rites, 146. Imperfection of their agriculture, ibid. Doubts concerning the extent of the empire, 147. Little intercourse among it, feveral provinces, 148. Ignorance of money, 149. State of their cities, 750. Temples and other public buildings, 151. Religion of, 156. Caufes of the depopulation of this country, 200. The small pox very fatal there, 202. Number of Indian natives, remaining there, 205. Lift and character of those authors who wrote accounts of the conquestof, ii. 366. 367. Description of the aqueduct for the supply of the capital city, iii. 307. See Colonies.

Michael, St. the gulph of, in the South Sea, discovered and named by Balboa, i. 204. The colony of, established by Pizarro, iii. 17.

Migrations of mankind, why first made

by land, i. 1.

Mind, human, the efforts of, proportioned to the wants of the body, ii. 68.

Mines of South America, the great inducement to population, iii. 181. Some Account of, 241. Their produce, 243. The spirit with which they are worked, 244. Fatal effects of this ardor, 245. Evidence of the pernicious effects of labouring in them, 329. Of Mexico, total produce of, to the Spanish revenue, 342.

344Molucca Islands, the Spanish claims on, fold by the Emperor Charles V. to

the Portuguese, ii. 305.

Monastic institutions, the pernicious effects of, in the Spanish American colonies, iii. 232. Number of convents there, 331.

vents there, 331.

Monfoons, the periodical course of, when discovered by navigators, i. 19.

Montesino, a Dominican preacher at St.
Domingo publickly remonstrates against the cruel treatment of the Indians, i. 215.

Montezuma, the first intelligence received by the Spaniards of this prince, i. 242. Receives intelligence of the arrival of Fernando Cortes in his dominions, ii. 187. His presents to Cortes, 188. Forbids him to ap-

proach his capital, 189. State of his empire at this time, ibid. His character, 190. His perplexity at the arrival of the Spaniards, 191. His timid negociations with Cortes, 192. His scheme for destroying Cortes at Cholula discovered, 219. His irrefolute conduct, 222. His first interview with Cortes, 223. Is seized by Cortes, and confined to the Spanish quarters, 232. Is fettered 234. Acknowledges himself a vassal to the Spanish crown, 238. Remains inflexible with regard to religion, 242. Circumstances of his death, 262. Account of a gold cup of his, in England, 307.

Mulattoes, in the Spanish American colonies explanation of this distinction,

iii. 222.

N

Narvaez, Pamphilo, is fent by Velafquez with an armament to Mexico, to superfede Cortes, ii. 246. Takes possession of Zempoallo, 251. Is defeated and taken prisoner, by Cortes, 254. How he carried on his correspondence with Montezuma, 380.

Natchez, an American nation, their political inflitutions, ii. 98. Causes of their tame submission to the Spaniards, 102. Their religious doc-

trines, 139.

Navigation, the arts of, very flowly improved by mankind, i. 2. The knowledge of, prior to commercial intercourfe, ibid. Imperfections of among the ancients, 4. More improved by the invention of the mariner's compass, than by all the efforts of preceding ages, 35. The first naval discoveries undertaken by Portugal, 40.

Negroes, their peculiar fituation under the Spanish dominion in America, iii.

223

Newfoundland, its fituation described, ii. 322.

New Holland, some account of the country and inhabitants, ii. 347.

New Spain, discovered and named by Juan de Grijalva, i. 241. See Mexico. Nigno, Alonso, his voyage to America, i. 150.

Norwegians, might in ancient times have migrated to, and colonized Ame-

rica, ii. 33. i. 265.

Nugnez Vela, Biasco, appointed viceroy of Peru, to enforce the new regulations, iii. 85. His character, 88. Commits Vaca de Castro to prison, 89. Dissensions be-

tween

tween him and the court of audience, 91. Is confined, 92. Recovers his liberty, 93. Refumes his command, 94. Is purfued by Gonzalo Pizarro, 95. Is defeated and killed by Pizarro, 96. the Indians, 178. His cruel treats ment of them, 179. Encourages cultivation and manufactures, 183. His method of trepanning the natives of the Lucayos, 186. Is recalled, 189.

. 0

Ocampo, Diego, fent with a squadron from Hispaniola to desolate the country of Cumana, i. 233, 235.

try of Cumana, i. 233, 235.

Ocampo, Sebastian de, first sails round Cuba, and discovers it to be an island, i. 188.

Ocean, though adapted to facilitate the intercourse between distant countries continued long a formidable barrier, i. 1. See Compass, and Navigation.

Ojeda, Alonzo de, his private expedition to the West Indies, i. 148. His second voyage, 159. Obtains a government on the continent, 192.

Olmeda, Father Bartholomew de, checks the rash zeal of Cortes at Tlascala in Mexico, ii. 217. Is sent by Cortes to negociate with Narvaez, 249.

Orellana, Francis, is appointed to the command of a bark built by Gonzalo Pizarro, and deferts him, iii. 68. Sails down the Maragnon, 69. Returns to Spain with a report of wonderful discoveries, ibid. Herrera's account of his voyage, 301.

Organez, commands Almagro's party against the Pizarros, and is defeated and killed by them, iii. 60.

Orinoco, the great river of, discovered by Christopher Columbus, i. 138. The amazing plenty of fishing, ii. 344. Strange method of chusing a captain, among the Indian tribes on the banks of, 117.

Otabeite, the inhabitants of, ignorant of the art of boiling water, ii. 359.

Otumba, battle of, between Cortes and the Mexicans, ii. 269.

Ovando, Nicholas, de, is fent governor to Hispaniola, i. 159. His prudent regulations, 161. Refuses admission to Columbus, on his fourth voyage, 164. His ungenerous behaviour to Columbus on his shipwreck, 169, 171. Receives him at length and sends him home, 173. Engages in a war with

19

P

Pacific ocean, why, and by whom fo named, ii. 303.

Packet boats, first establishment of, between Spain and her American colonies, iii. 269.

Panama, is settled by Pedrarias Davila, i. 212.

Parmenides, the first who divided the earth by zones, i. 255.

Patagonians, fome account of, ii. 57.

The reality of their gigantic fize yet to be decided, 59, 338.

Pedrarias Davila, is sent with a seet to supersede Balboa in his government of Santa Maria on the isthmus of Darien, i. 207. Treats Balboa ill, 208. Rapacious conduct of his men, 209. Is reconciled to Balboa, and gives him his daughter, 210. Puts Balboa to death, 211. Removes his settlement from Santa Maria to Panama, 212.

Penguin, the name of that bird not derived from the Welch language, i. 264.

Perez, Juan, patronifes Columbus at the court of Castile, i. 74. His solemn invocation for the success of Columbus's voyage.

bus's voyage, 82.

Periplus, of Hanno, the authenticity of that work justified, i. 249.

Peru, the first intelligence concerning this country, received by Vasco Nugnez de Balboa, i. 200. 205. The coast of first discovered by Pizarro, iii. 10. Pizarro's second arrival, 15. hostile proceedings against the natives, 16. The colony of St. Michael established, 17. State of the empire at the time of this invasion, ibid. The kingdom divided between Huascar and Atahualpa, 21. Atahualpa usurps the government, 22. Huascar solicits assistance from Pizarro, 23. Atahualpa visits Pizarro, 27. Is seized by Pizarro, 29. Agreement for his ranform, 31. Is retused his liberty, 34. Is cruelly put to death, 39. Confusion of the empire on this event, 40. Quito reduced

by Benalcazar, 42. The city of Lima founded by Pizarro, 48. Chili invaded by Almagro, 49. Insurrection of the Peruvians, 50. Almagro put to death by Pizarro, 63. Pizarro divides the country among his followers, 65. Progress of the Spanish arms there, 66. Francis Pizarro affatfina-ted, 73. Reception of the new regulations there, 86. The viceroy confined by the court of audience, 92. The viceroy defeated and killed by Gonzalo Pizarro, 96. Arrival of Pedro de la Gasca, 103. Reduction and death of Gonzalo Pizarro, 111. The civil wars there not carried on with mercenary foldiers, 112. But never-theless gratified with immense re-wards, 113. Their profusion and wards, 113. Their profusion and luxury, ibid. Ferocity of their contefts, 114. Their want of faith, ibid. Instances, 115. Division of, by Gasca among his followers, 116. A retrofpect into the original government, arts, and manners of the natives, 121. The high antiquity they pretend to, 157. Their records, 158. Origin of their civil policy, 160. This founded in religion, 161. The authority of the Incas absolute and unlimited, ibid. All crimes there punished capitally, 162. Mild genius of their religion, 163. Its influence on their civil policy, 164. And on their military fyf-tem, 165. Peculiar state of property there, 166. Distinction of ranks, 167. State of arts, 168. Improved state of agriculture, ibid. Their buildings, 170. Their public roads, 171. Their bridges, 173. Their mode of refining filver ore, 174. Works of elegance, 175. Their civilization, nevertheles but imperfect, 176. Cuzco the only place that had the appearance of a city, ibid. No per-fect separation of professions, 177. Little commercial intercourse, ibid. Their unwarlike spirit, 178. their flesh and fish raw, 179. Brief account of other provinces under the viceroy of New Spain, 180. Causes of the depopulation of this country, 201. The small pox very fatal there, 202. Writers who gave accounts of the conquest of, 291. Their method of building, 315. State of the revenue derived from, by the crown of

Spain, 343. See Colonies.

Peter I. czar of Ruffia, his extensive views in profecuting Afiatic discoveries, ii. 27.

Phenicians, antient, state of commerce and navigation among them, i. 6. Their trade, how conducted, 249.

Philip II. of Spain, his turbulent dispofition aided by his American treasures, iii. 250. Establishes the colony of

Manila, 280.
Philip III. exhausts his country by in-

fiderate bigotry, iii. 250.

Philippine islands, discovered by Ferdinand Magellan, ii. 303. A colony established there by Philip II. of Spain, iii. 280. Trade between, and America, 281.

Physic, the art of, in America, why connected with divination, ii. 144. Pinto, chevalier, his description of the

characteristic features of the native

Americans, ii. 335.

Pinzon, Vincent Yanez, commands a vessel under Columbus in his first voyage of discovery, i. 81. Sails to America on a private adventure with four ships, 180. Discovers Yucatan,

Pizarro, Ferdinand, is befreged in Cufco by the Peruvians, iii. 52. Is furprifed there by Almagro, 55. Ef-capes with Alvarado, 57. Defends capes with Alvarado, 57. his brother at the court of Spain, 64. Is committed to prison, 65.

Pizarro, Francisco, attends Balboa, in his settlement on the isthmus of Darien, i. 194. Marches under him across the ithmus where they discover the South Sea, 204. His birth, education, and character, iii. 2. Affociates with Almagro and De Luque, in a voyage of discovery, 4. His ill fucces, 5. Is recalled, and deserted by most of his followers, 8. Remains on the itland of Gorgona for supplies, ibid. Discovers the coast of Peru, 10. Returns to Panama, 11. Goes to Spain to folicit reinforcements, 12. Procures the supreme command for himfelf, 13. Is affished with money by Cortes, ibid. Lands again in Peiu, 15. His hostile proceedings against the natives, 16. Establishes the colony of St. Michael, 17. State of the Peruvian empire at this time,

ibid. Cause of his easy penetration into the country, 22. Is applied to by Huascar, for assistance against his victorious brother Atahualpa, 23. State of his forces, ibid. Arrives at Caxamalca, 25. Is visited by the Inca, 27. His perfidious feizure of Agrees to Atahualpa's ofhim, 29. fer for his ransom, 31. Division of their plunder, 33. Refuses Atahu-alpa his liberty, 34. His ignorance exposed to Atahualpa, 37. Bestows a form of trial on the Inca, 38. Puts him to death, 39. Advances to Cuzco, 41. Honours conferred on him by the Spanish court, 45. Beginning of diffentions between him and Almagro, 46. His civil regulations, 47. Founds the city of Lima, 48. In-furrection of the Peruvians, 50. Cufco feized by Almagro, 55. Deludes Almagro by negociations, 57. De-feats Almagro, and takes him prifoner, 60. Puts Almagro to death, 63. Divides the country among his followers, 65. The impolitic partiality of his allotments, ibid. Makes his brother Gonzalo governor of Quito, 67. Is affaffinated by Juan

de Herrada, 73.
Pizarro, Gonzalo, is made governor of Quito, by his brother Francis, iii. 67. His expedition over the Andes, ibid. Is deferted by Orellana, 68. His diftress on this event, 70. His disaftrous return to Quito, 71. Is encouraged by the people to oppose Nugnes Vela, the new viceroy, 90. Affumes the government of Peru, 92. Marches against the viceroy, 94. Defeats and kills him, 96. Is advised by Carvajal to affume the fovereignty of the country, 97. Chuses to negociate with the court of Spain, 98. Confultations of the court on his conduct, 99. His violent resolutions on the arrival of Pedro de la Gasca, 104. Refolves to oppose him by violence, 105. Marches to reduce Centeno at Cuzco, 107. Defeats him, 108. Is deferted by his troops on the approach of Gasca, 110. Surrenders and is executed, 111. His adherents, men of no principle, 115.

Plata, Rio de, discovered by Dias de So-lis, i. 213. Its amazing width, ii. 321.

Pliny, the naturalist, instance of his ignorance in geography, i. 255.

Ponce de Leon, Juan, discovers Florida, i. 197. Romantic motive of his

voyage, 198.

Population, of the earth, flow progress of, i. 1.

Porto Bello, discovered and named by Christopher Columbus, i. 166.

Porto Rico, is fettled and subjected by Juan Ponce de Leon, i. 187. Porto Santo, the first discovery of, i. 44.

Portugal, when and by whom the court of inquisition was first introduced into, i. 256.

Portuguese, a view of the circumstances that induced them to undertake the discovery of unknown countries, i. 39. 41. First African discoveries of, 42.

Madeira discovered, 45. They double Cape Bojador, 46. Obtain a papal grant of all the countries they should discover, 49. Cape Verd Islands, and the Azores discovered, 50. Voyage to the East Indies by Vasco de Gama, 145.

Potofi, the rich filver mines there, how discovered, iii. 242. The mines of, greatly exhaufted and scarcely worth

Ganges, 252.

working, 335.

Prisoners of war, how treated by the native Americans, ii. 111.

Property, the idea of unknown to the native Americans, ii. 91. Notions of the Brafilians concerning, 349. Protector of the Indians, in Spanish

America, his function, iii. 228. Ptolemy the philosopher, his geographical descriptions more ample and exact than those of his predecessors, i. 24. His geography translated by the Arabians, 27. His erroneous polition of the

Quetlavaca, brother of Montezums fucceeds him as king of Mexico, ii. 277. Conducts in person the fierce attacks which obliged Cortes to abandon his capital, ibid. Dies of the fmall pox, 278.

Quevedo, bishop of Darien, his confer-

rence with Las Casas on the treatment of the Indians, in the presence of the emperor Charles V. i. 230.

Quickfilver, the property of the famous mines of, at Guanacabelica, reserved by the crown of Spain, iii. 336. The price of, why reduced, ibid.

Quinquina, or Jesuit's bark, a production peculiar to Peru, iii. 247.

Quipos, or historic cords of the Peruvians, some account of, iii. 158.

Quito, the kingdom of, conquered by Huana Capac, Inca of Peru, iii. 20. Is left to his fon Atahualpa, 21. Atahualpa's general revolts after his death, 41. Is reduced by the Spaniards under Benalcazar, 42. Benalcazar deprived, and Gonzalo Pizarro made governor, 67.

R

Ramufio, his defence of Hanno's account of the coast of Africa, i. 250.

Register ships, for what purpose introduced in the trade between Spain and her colonies, iii. 264. Superfede the use of the galeons, 265.

Religion of the native Americans, an inquiry into, ii. 132.

Ribas, his account of the political state of the people of Cinaloa, ii. 350. Of their want of religion, 360.

Rio de la Plata, and Tucuman, account of those provinces, iii. 189.

Rivers, the amazing fize of those in Ame-

Robinson, professor, his remarks on the temperature of various climates, ii. 323.

Roldan, Francis, is left chief justice in Hispaniola, by Christopher Columbus, i. 131. Becomes ringleader of a mutiny, 140. Submits, 143.

Romans, their progress in navigation and discovery, i. 17. Their military spirit averse to mechanical arts and commerce, 18. Navigation and trade favoured in the provinces under their government, 19. Their extensive discoveries by land, 20. Their empire, and the sciences, destroyed together, 25.

Rubruquis, father, his embassy from

France to the chan of the Tartare, i. 33.
Russians, Asiatic discoveries made by them,
ii. 27. Uncertainty of. 333.

S

Sacotecas, the rich filver mines there, when discovered, iii. 242.

San Salvador, discovered and named by Christopher Columbus, i. 93.

Sancho, Don Redro, account of his Hiftory of the conquest of Peru, iii. 291. Sandoval, the shocking barbarities executed by, in Mexico, ii. 309.

Sandoval, Francisco Tello de, is sent by the emperor Charles V. to Mexico, as visitador of America, iii. 85. His moderation and prudence, ibid.

Savage life, a general estimate of, ii. 156. Scalps, motive of the native Americans for taking them from their enemies, ii. 353.

Serralvo, marquis de, his extraordinary gains during his vice-royalty in America, iii. 347.

Seville, extraordinary increase of its manufactures by the American trade, iii. 337. Its trade greatly reduced, ibid. The American trade removed to Cadiz, 255.

Silver ore, method of refining it practifed by the native Peruvians, iii. 174.

Soura, late discoveries of rich mines made there by the Spaniards, iii. 182. Soul, American ideas of the immortality of, ii. 141.

South Sea, first discovered by Vasco Nug-

nez de Balboa, i. 204. Spain, general idea of the policy of, with regard to the American colonies, iii. 206. Early interpolition of the regal authority in the colonies, 207. All the American dominions of, subjected to two viceroys, 208. A third viceroyalty lately established, 209. colonies of, compared with those of Greece and Rome, 215. Advantages the derived from her colonies, 248. Why the does not still derive the fame, 249. Rapid decline of trade, 251. This decline increased by the mode of regulating the intercourse with America, 254. Employs guarda costas to check il icit trade, 263. The use of register ships introduced, 264. Establishment of the company of Caraccas, 267. Enlargement of commercial ideas there, 268. Free trade permitted to several provinces, 270. Revenue derived from America, 283. Specification, 343.

cation, 343.

Spaniards, their curious form of taking possession of new discovered countries,

i. 270.

Strabe, a ciration from, proving the great geographical ignorance of the antients, i. 252. His own want of geographical knowledge, 255.

Superfition, always connected with a a defire of penetrating into the fecrets

of futurity, ii. 143.

T.

Tapia, Christoval de, is sent from Spain to Mexico, to supersede Cortes in his command, but fails in the attempt, ii. 306.

Tartars, the possibility of their migrat-

ing to America, ii. 31.

Tlascala, in Mexico, character of the natives of, ii. 209. Oppose the passage of the Spaniards, 209. Are reduced to sue for peace, 214.

Tobacco, that of Cuba the best flavoured of any in all America, iii. 247.

Toupinambor, account of their ferocious

courage from Lery, ii. 353.

Trade, free, opened between Spain and her colonies, iii. 270. Increase of the Spanish cuttoms from this measure, 338.

Trade winds, the periodical course of, when discovered by navigators, i. 19. Travellers, ancient, character of their

writings, i. 35.

Trinidad, the island of, discovered by Christopher Columbus on his third voyage, i. 137.

Tucuman, and Rio de la Plata, account of those provinces, iii. 189.

Tyre, the commerce of that city, how conducted, i. 249.

Tythes of Spanish America, how applied by the court of Spain, iii. 344.

v.

Vaca de Castro, Christoval, is sent from Spain to regulate the government of Peru, iii. 64. Arrives at Quito, 75. Assumes the supreme authority, 76. Defeats young Almagro, 77. The severity of his proceedings, 78. Prevents an insurrection concerted to oppose the new regulations, 88. Is imprisoned by the new viceroy, 89.

Valverde, father Vincent, his curious harangue to Atahualpa, Inca of Peru, iii. 28. Gives his fanction to the trial and condemnation of Atahualpa,

38.

Vega, Garcilaso de la, character of his commentary on the Spanish writers concerning Peru, iii. 293.

Vegetables, their natural tendency to fertilize the foil where they grow, ii. 18.

Velasquez, Diego de, conquers the island of Cuba, i. 196. 237. His preparations for invading New Spain, ii. 173. His difficulty in chusing a commander for the expedition, 174. Appoints Fernando Cortes, 175. His motives to this choice, 176. Becomes suspicious of Cortes, 178. Orders Cortes to be deprived of his commission, and arrested, 179. Sends an armament to Mexico after Cortes, 244.

Venegas, P. his character of the native

Californians, ii. 342.

Venereal disease, originally brought from America, ii. 61. Appears to be wearing out, 62. Its first rapid progress, 339.

Venezuela, history of that settlement, iii.

194

Venice, its origin as a maritime state, i. 30. Travels of Marco Polo, 33.

Verd, islands discovered by the Portu-

guele, i. 50.

Viceroys, all the Spanish dominions in America subjected to two, iii. 208. A third lately established, 209. Their Their powers, ibid. A fourth established, 275.

Villa, Segnor, his account of the state of population in New Spain, iii. 323. His detail of the Spanish Ame-

can revenue, 343.

Villefagno, Antonio, one of Cortes's foldiers, foments a mutiny among his troops, ii. 282. Is discovered by Cortes, and hanged, 283.

Ulloa,

Ulloa, Don Antonio de, his description of the characteristic features of the native Americans, ii. 334, 335. His reason for the Americans not being so fensible of pain as the rest of mankind, 355. His account of the goods exported from Spain to America, with the duty on them, iii. 347.

Volcanes, remarkable number of, in the northern parts of the globe discovered by the Russians, ii. 334.

W

Wafer, Lionel, his account of a peculiar race of diminutive Americans iii. 55. Compared with fimilar productions in Africa, 56.

War fong of the native Americans, the fentiments and terms of, ii. 353,

Women, the condition of, among the native Americans, ii. 72. Are not prolific, 75. Are not permitted to join in their drunken feasts, 153. Nor to wear ornaments, 357.

X

Keres, Francisco de, secretary to Pizarro, the earliest writer on his Peruvian expedition, iii. 291. Kimenes, cardinal, his regulations for the treatment of the Indians in the Spanish colonies, i. 220. Patronises the attempt of Ferdinand Magellan, ii. 300.

Y

Tucatan, the province of, discovered by Pinzon and Diaz de Solis, i. 188. Described, 272. From whence the province derives its value, iii. 185. Policy of the court of Spain with respect to, 186.

Z

Zarate, Don Augustine, character of his History of the conquest of Peru, iii.

Zones, the earth how divided into, by the geography of the ancients, i. 22. By whom first so divided, 255.

whom first so divided, 255.

Zummaraga, Juan de, first bishop of Mexico, the deltroyer of all the ancient records of the Mexican empire, iii. 125.